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EUGENE VARGA

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ON THE THRESHOLD OF 1942

BY EUGENE VARGA

THE purpose of this article is to give a survey of 1941, and an insight into 1942.

The passing year saw an extension of the war to the whole world. The Second World War has assumed dimensions far exceeding the First World War both in intensity of struggle, in cost of war, as well as in the number of belligerents and victims.

Nineteen-forty-one saw Hitler's might reach its culminating point, and his victories in foreign policy and in war theaters have ever more frequently given way to failure. The final defeat of Hitler is already beginning to loom ahead.

Hitler and his generals, from the very outset, entertained no illusions. They knew that their victory, were it at all possible, could be scored only under two circumstances—if they were able to defeat their enemies piecemeal, and if they were able to attain their victory rapidly.

Viewed in the light of these criterions, 1941 brought an unfavorable turn for Hitler. Ranged against him is a coalition of the world's three strongest powers, with a war potential many times exceeding that of Germany and her allies, including Japan. This coalition, in addition to the three great powers, embraces the colonies and the naval forces of the European countries defeated by Hitler—the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Greece (Belgian Congo, Indonesia and the French colonies supporting De Gaulle). More, this coalition extends to the peoples of Europe enslaved by Hitler and engaged in a ceaseless and systematic struggle against the Nazi forces. These nations are but waiting their opportunity to settle accounts with the invader once and for all.

Further, this coalition embraces the tremendous Chinese nation, whose importance is rapidly growing in connection with Japan's war against the Anglo-Saxon countries.

Altogether, nearly 1,700,000,000 people stand opposed to the 250,000,000 in the fascist bloc.

Hitler's hopes of a quick and victorious termination of the war in 1941, a promise which he falsely held out to the masses, have not materialized.

With no second front on the European continent, Hitler was indeed able to concentrate practically his whole war machine against the Soviet Union and in addition to muster the forces of his "allies." Despite this, however, he failed to gain victory in the combat against the U.S.S.R.

The war against the Soviet Union

has cost Germany a colossal toll. The close of 1941 saw a turn in the position at the Eastern Front.

Protracted war—and this war is over two years old—must inevitably result in defeat for Hitler. Even prior to the war he had mobilized all of the Reich's resources and this enabled him to achieve initial success in the first stage of the war. But his resources are by no means adequate for a drawn-out war, just as they were inadequate during the last World War.

The process of Germany's economic exhaustion is proceeding full swing. Every month of the war saps Germany's national wealth. In fact, national wealth is giving way to obligations undertaken by the state. Germany's state debt is now mounting at the rate of 4,000,000,000 marks per month. Even such concerns as Krupp and I. G. Farbenindustrie were unable to replace their worn out machinery in 1940.

The blockade is accelerating this process of pauperization. The day is not far distant when Germany, as in 1918, will find herself unable to feed and clothe her people and provide her army with necessary war materials. The daily fascist press, which caters to the wide masses of the population, of course denies this growing poverty and declares that German industry has never been so prosperous. But special economic publications, meant only for a small circle, are constrained to admit Germany's rapid impoverishment, although in very roundabout terms.

War frees money capital, which cannot be invested in factories and mills, nor as circulating capital in commodities, for the commodities necessary for this purpose are lacking due to the exhaustion of the country. The money could only be invested in government securities, but Germany's "patriotic" capitalists are avoiding this to the best of their ability. Too fresh are the memories of the complete crash of state securities after the First World War. Therefore they buy such valuables as are available—shares, pictures, stamp and coin collections, libraries.

Colossal war profits, coupled with the impossibility of renovating constant capital and commodity stocks, because of the country's impoverishment—this is the reason for surplus money. But a surplus of money is tantamount to inflation.

True, the artificial fixing of prices tends to conceal this process, but that Germany is experiencing inflation is evident from the rapid growth in paper money circulation. During the year ending October 23, 1941, bank note circulation grew from 12,100,000,000 marks to 16,400,000,000, or by more than one-third.

Inflation, however, finds full expression in the mounting stock exchange quotations, in the endless growth of prices of commodities, the prices of which cannot be definitely fixed, such as objects of art, coin and stamp collections, libraries, etc., which have a stable value in foreign currency.

Inflation is also felt in the illicit trade in various commodities. It finds further expression in a growing reluctance to sell for money and

in the widespread practice of exchanging goods for goods. Newspaper items and letters to German soldiers reveal that peasants and handicraftsmen refuse to sell for money but demand goods in exchange, peasants demand clothing and city handicraftsmen food.

The exhaustion of the Reich's economic forces, the impoverishment of the country, attended by a surplus of money and inflation, have led to a rapid deterioration of the conditions of the German working people.

Let us quote the words of one who is not wont to depict the conditions of the German worker in a too somber perspective. Let us quote Dr. Goebbels, writing to Berliners, in the *Berliner Boerzenzeitung,* on October 28, 1941:

"I know it is difficult for you today. All of you have to work harder than ever before. Your wives often stand for hours on end in queues in order to buy a few vegetables. Your children have, in many cases, been dispatched to the countryside and you don't see them for months. One day there is a shortage of wool, next day a shortage of cigarettes. When labor is lacking you are called upon to unload coal and then to spend long nights in bomb shelters and return to work after only two hours sleep. Such is the position in many parts of the Reich, sometimes it is still worse."

The conditions of the population are steadily worsening. All kinds of food are rationed, but it is wellnigh impossible to procure these rations. Domination over Europe has brought many little relief. The occupied territories yield less and less every month, as the poverty of these countries grows and their people's resistance becomes stronger.

Indicative in this respect are the figures on Danish exports. German occupation has played havoc with Danish agriculture and exports have fallen to less than one-half their former volume. The cattle products output index dropped from 126 in May, 1940, to 60 in August, 1941. However, even curtailed exports were possible only by greatly reducing the allowances to the Danish population.

No matter how much Nazi propaganda screams about a "planned increase in output under the New Order," output everywhere is being curtailed and hunger reigns in all European countries under German domination.

On September 27, 1941, the Italian Cabinet decreed the introduction of breadcards in view of the poor crop. The ration was fixed at 200 grams per day and 300 for workers. Yet it should be borne in mind that bread has always been one of Italy's staple foods.

On the other hand, in the countries fighting Hitler and primarily in the overseas countries, there is an abundance of foodstuffs and agricultural produce of all kinds. In the United States, wheat stocks on hand at the beginning of the 1941-42 business year were sufficient to meet the demand of the whole year. Canada and Australia too have large stocks of grain. These countries also have large surpluses of coffee, cocoa and tea. United States cotton stocks, at the beginning of the present

agricultural year, amounted to 11,400,000 bales, while United States consumption last year reached a record figure—9,600,000 bales. Stocks thus exceed the annual requirements.

The same is true of many other commodities, the consumption of which has increased greatly during the war. These include aluminum, steel (the output of which now stands at 90,000,000 tons per annum) and machine tools, the manufacture of which is three times above last year's.

So far only a few industries in America are working to full capacity and in agriculture government subsidies to reduce crop areas of wheat, cotton, etc., will remain in force throughout 1942.

Britain has received much more food and raw materials from overseas countries in 1941 than during the preceding year and her food supplies are now double what they were when the war broke out. Hitler's attempt to bring Britain to her knees by starvation has failed dismally and irrevocably.

The temporary occupation by the Nazis of part of the U.S.S.R. has somewhat decreased the Soviet Union's war potential. But this decrease was to a large extent compensated by the rapid development of output in regions distant from the scene of hostilities. Hitherto the Soviet Union has been utilizing but a small portion of its inexhaustible natural resources.

What is particularly important is that from the very first days of the war Soviet factories and mills were removed in good time from the threatened areas and together with their personnel installed in regions which are quite inaccessible to Hitler's aircraft.

They have resumed work successfully. This evacuation of industry has been augmented through the study of the tremendous natural resources in new regions and has led to the opening and exploitation of new coal, oil and mineral deposits.

Agriculture in the Soviet Eastern districts has brought numberless millions of acres of arable land, hitherto unused due to lack of labor power, under the plow as collective farmers who evacuated from Western regions together with cattle and machinery took up residence there.

So the temporary weakening of the Soviet Union's economic potential was relatively small and Hitler's gain from the temporary occupation of Soviet regions was a minimum one, for all supplies and machinery were evacuated or, as an extreme measure, destroyed.

Goods not produced in the Soviet Union are supplied by the British Empire and the United States.

In striking the economic balance for the year we can place on record that the fascist bloc, Japan included, has, due to the protracted nature of the war and the blockade, reached such a degree of economic exhaustion as will inevitably bring on the rapid curtailment of its war forces. While the placing of the economy of the anti-fascist powers on a war footing and increasing their war strength are already beginning to yield favorable results.

This development is the guaran-

tee for the defeat of Hitler and his allies.

Nineteen-forty-one was a year of foreign political defeats for Hitler. These defeats started with Britain's refusal, despite her weakening as the result of the defeat of France, to conclude peace with Hitler.

Britain's stand reduced to naught Hitler's plan to conclude peace on the basis of the successes scored in the first year of war, so that he might prepare for further wars of conquest. Hitler had no choice but to continue the struggle and moreover in the face of a steadily tightening British blockade.

Hitler's first foreign political defeat in 1941 was sustained in Yugoslavia, where the indignant people ousted the treacherous government which had prepared to yield the country to the Nazis without fighting. This compelled Hitler to launch into a difficult war which, properly speaking, is not yet over, since partisan battles in Yugoslavia can be described as actual warfare.

All of Hitler's attempts to gain a foothold in Asia and to break through the oil blockade were similarly doomed to a fiasco. Endless enticement and numberless threats notwithstanding, Turkey remains neutral. Syria, which Hitler, with Pétain's tacit agreement, was about to use as a base for further advances, was liberated by the military force of Britain and General De Gaulle. The French forces here put up a very feeble resistance. The reactionary coup in Iraq, engineered by Hitler, was quickly liquidated by Britain and found no support among the Iraq population. Hitler's attempts to establish his domination in Iran, with the aid of a fifth column, were nipped in the bud by Britain and the Soviet Union.

At the close of 1941 Hitler found himself ruler only of the European continent and unable to break the blockade at any point.

In France, too, Hitler suffered a defeat, inasmuch as he has failed to achieve his main goal—drawing France into the war against Britain and gaining control of the French navy and naval bases. This he failed to accomplish despite numerous conferences, threats and promises. The fact of the matter is that Pétain, Darlan and other traitors who today rule France by Hitler's grace are not inclined to carry their treachery to completion. But the Pétain policy outlined during Hitler's meeting with Pétain, October 24, 1940, comes up against the stout resistance of the freedom-loving French people. A powerful movement of French patriots, led by De Gaulle, hinders the traitors. Moreover, Hitler, while yet sufficiently strong to occupy unoccupied France, would find this of little avail for it would force the French Navy and the colonies to side with De Gaulle and the anti-Hitler front. Hitler would thus be defeating his own aim.

A similar failure befell Hitler in Spain. The executioners of the Spanish people, who owe their rule to Hitler and Mussolini, are certainly prepared to embroil Spain in the war on Hitler's side. But they know only too well that the arbitrary rule and terror established by them in Spain rest on a very flimsy founda-

tion and therefore they cannot risk war. Hence they confine themselves to the symbolic participation expressed in the dispatching of a small number of "volunteers" to the Eastern front.

Though Hitler has compelled several countries, among them Slovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Croatia, to become "allies" he is more isolated internationally than ever before. In all these countries he can rely only on a very thin stratum of traitors belonging to the ruling classes. The governments in these countries, as indeed the puppet governments in the occupied countries, are maintained only by German bayonets. The celebrated "New Europe" is being torn by strife and antagonisms.

The Italians are bitter because of Italy's exclusion from the Danube and because of Italy's economic and military dependence on Germany. The Reich Ambassador participates in all meetings of the Italian Cabinet and has the final say. The military attaché, Kellinger, interferes in all affairs of the Italian army, and the Gestapo has spread a widely ramified network across Italy. It is becoming ever more clear that Hitler's victory would forever transform Italy into a vassal state.

The danger of war between Hungary and Rumania over Transylvania has never been removed and Hungarian and Rumanian troops have never been stationed at adjacent sectors of the Eastern Front lest they begin fighting each other.

Sharp differences and contradictions divide Bulgaria and Rumania, Hungary and Slovakia, Italy and Croatia. Hitler forcibly holds his "allies" in the harness of the "New Europe" and is isolated on the international scene.

However, Hitler's most disastrous defeat on the international area came when he attempted to break through this isolation by a treacherous attack on the Soviet Union. Since neither air bombings nor submarine war were able to incline Britain toward peace and since the blockade noose was tightening around Germany, Hitler decided to try a "crusade against Bolshevism." He dispatched Hess to England with a proposal to conclude peace and to join forces to save Europe from the "Bolshevik danger."

But the prudence of British statesmen thwarted Hitler's designs. The British understood that Hitler was playing for time so that he might arm still more for the attack on England. They rejected his proposals.

The treacherous attack on the Soviet Union and the cries about the "Bolshevik peril to European civilization," far from relieving Germany from her isolation, actually led to an alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Britain and to the open support of this anti-Hitler alliance by the United States. Hitler got what he did not bargain for—a powerful bloc of states against the Hitler fanaticism.

The alliance between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and the Soviet-Czechoslovakian alliance constitute further blows at Hitler in Europe.

With the Blitzkrieg tactics upset in the war against the U.S.S.R. and

with the terrific losses in men and material at the Eastern Front yielding no results, Hitler decided to play his last card. He induced the Japanese militarists to attack the United States and Britain, and together with his vassals declared war on the United States.

He hopes that the war in the Pacific will curtail the supplies from Britain and the United States to the Soviet Union and thus avert Germany's defeat at the Eastern Front.

But the result of this was the establishment of a front of three great powers—the United States, Britain and China—against Japan and Hitler.

Hitler's latest move also resulted in lining up all the countries of Central and South America, with Argentina as the only exception, in the anti-Hitler front. This marks the still greater isolation of the Reich in the world arena.

In the United States Lindbergh, Hoover and Company, who though themselves isolated urged against war between the United States and Germany, have now in the face of Japan's treachrous attack and Germany's declaration of war been compelled to declare in favor of the war. From now on the output of armaments and war supplies in the United States will proceed at an even more rapid tempo than hitherto.

Thus 1941 saw a catastrophic worsening of Hitler's position in the international arena. Save for his own "allies"—and even in these so-called allied countries the people and part of the ruling class are against him—the entire world stands opposed to Hitler.

The forces arrayed against him present a more imposing might than those opposing imperial Germany in the First World War. True, at that time Italy and Japan were among Germany's foes and Turkey had sided with the Kaiser. But Turkey was a dubious asset, for her backward, weak and corrupt regime, thoroughly demoralized by German spies, was hated by the people, who hoped for defeat and worked for revolution.

Today Hitler is opposed by the highly industrialized and powerful Soviet Union with a war potential many times exceeding that of the tsar's empire and with the people heroically defending their country's liberty against the Nazi cannibal hordes.

In the last war China's part was but passive, she was the prey of Japan, without an army and practically defenseless. Today China possesses an army millions strong, tested and trained in four years of battle. Amply supplied with modern weapons by its allies, this army will prove superior to Japan's.

Thus Hitler's bloc is faced by an army stronger than that which fought Kaiser Germany in the First World War.

* * *

This article does not propose to give a detailed analysis of the war events of 1941. Suffice it to mention the vital landmarks of the year.

The first half of the year brought Hitler victory over Yugoslavia and Greece. True, this victory was not

easily won and was by no means final. Similarly at the Eastern Front, Hitler scored success right up to November, inasmuch as he captured fresh territory. But these territorial gains were purchased at the price of colossal losses in men and material. Like a huge mincing machine the war was destroying and grinding the German army.

November brought a turn and the Red Army began to push back the weakened German forces along the entire front. The attack on Moscow was repelled. Rostov-on-Don, Yelets, Tikhvin and hundreds of other inhabited points were liberated. Von Kleist's army, which set out to capture the Caucasus, was routed. Deprived of winter quarters, Germany's ragged soldiery is exposed to the mercy of the grim Russian winter.

But, what is more important still, the German army at the end of 1941 is not what it was in the middle of the year when the war against the U.S.S.R. broke out. The backbone of the army—young divisions unreservedly devoted to Hitler, and brought up on the spirit of National-Socialism—has been routed. Their place has been taken by men of the older generation, who up until now were garrisoned in the occupied countries. These are men who have left their wives and children and whose only concern is peace. For the most part they are men whose outlook on life was fully formed before Hitler came to power and who in their time took an active part in the struggle against the Nazis. They include erstwhile Communists, Social-Democrats and the followers of Center Parties. The fighting efficiency of this army is incomparably lower than the army which launched the attack on the Soviet Union.

The morale of Hitler's army is not the same as six months ago. Faith in the invincibility of German arms has been shaken. The blows dealt by the Red Army, the establishment of a world-wide anti-Hitler front, the United States' open participation in the war, have all served to drive home to the German soldier the realization that a Reich victory is hopeless and the defeat of its armies inevitable. The fighting efficiency of the German army has been weakened by the soldiers' realization that they are fighting for a lost cause.

In the last months of 1941 Hitler's army was inadequately supplied. The soldiers are short of winter equipment and clothing. They have no winter quarters. Many are frostbitten. Their rations are worse. German aircraft, tanks and trucks are not suitable for Russian winter conditions. Soviet troops have captured thousands of trucks which stood idle for lack of gasoline. Inadequate supplies undermine fighting efficiency and the defeat of Hitler's army is predetermined.

The foregoing provides ample grounds to say that 1942 must become the year of Hitler's collapse. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Germany's economic exhaustion will continue in 1942 at an accelerated pace.

The booty captured in the vanquished countries and used for war purposes is running low. Limited

stocks of provisions, footwear and clothing among the working people have been used up.

Commodity output continues to decline. The inflation which began this year must therefore assume greater dimensions next year.

The exhaustion of Germany and her "allies" will in 1942 take such forms as will render impossible the proper supplying of the army, let alone supplying the civil population.

It can be foreseen that Hitler's position in the world arena will become worse in 1942. Now that the war at the Eastern Front has taken an unfavorable turn for Hitler he will hardly find any new "allies." Quite the contrary. It is safe to predict that some of his so-called allies will desert Hitler before his collapse for their own salvation, as Austria tried to do in 1918 and as Bulgaria did.

There can be no doubt that 1942 will see a second front against Hitler in Europe and this will hasten his defeat.

It can be forecast that the struggle of the peoples of the occupied countries will, under the influence of Hitler's reverses at the Eastern Front, become more widespread, relentless and dangerous for the Nazis in 1942.

Undoubtedly while Hitler's military might will continue to diminish rapidly in 1942, the war strength of his adversaries—the U.S.S.R., British Empire and the United States—will grow apace. The relation of forces will more tangibly shift to Hitler's disadvantage and this process will continue until his inevitable collapse occurs.

It can be foreseen that the German people's dissatisfaction with the Hitler regime, which has caused the working people so much suffering, hardship and want, will in 1942 grow in volume and intensity. It is not precluded that the overthrow of the Hitler regime will result not directly from military defeat, but from the revolt of the German people against their tyrants.

Naturally, it is impossible to give a precise forecast of events for a whole year. As Lenin said, history often develops in most peculiar zigzags. But we think that the march of events in 1942 will, in the main, follow the course which this article gives in rough outline.

HASTEN THE DEFEAT OF HITLER FASCISM BY STRENGTHENING THE WORLD ANTI-FASCIST FRONT

BY E. GEREY

IN THE beginning of his fierce advance on the Eastern Front in early October that monster Hitler told the Nazi army in no uncertain terms that the attack on Moscow was preparatory to an attack on Great Britain. This is comprehensible. The German imperialists are waging a war for world domination; they are out to make the whole of continental Europe their colony, to enslave the peoples of Asia and crush England in order subsequently to hurl themselves against the United States of America and bring the Western Hemisphere, too, under their subjugation.

The Soviet Union and its heroic Red Army have blocked the Nazis' road to world domination and to the enslavement of all peoples. The land of the Soviets is bearing the brunt of the struggle against the Reich's colossal war machine. In defending their native land, their liberty and independence, and in fighting an enemy armed to the teeth with tanks and airplanes, the Soviet people are making supreme sacrifices not only in their own interests but in the interests of the common cause of all freedom-loving nations of all humankind.

The battlefields that have become the scene of the Red Army's valorous struggle, the trenches and fortifications at which the Muscovites and Leningraders are defending their cities, represent the outposts of defense of world civilization. There cannot, therefore, be the slightest doubt that support for the Soviet Union's titanic struggle against Hitler Germany is a matter of vital interest to all peoples and primarily to the British and American people. Every anti-fascist knows what tremendous aid the Soviet Union, by its persevering and self-sacrificing struggle, has already rendered other nations.

In the U.S.S.R. fascist Germany met with serious resistance for the first time. As a result of the Red Army's remarkably steadfast resistance and constant counter-attacks, the Nazi High Command has been compelled to reduce the strength of most of its garrisons in occupied countries. This makes easier and will continue to make easier the liberation struggle waged by the peoples oppressed by Hitler.

The German war machine had stood hardly any wear and tear prior to Hitler's attack on the

U.S.S.R. Without major losses in material, fascist Germany captured large stocks of armaments, munitions plants and large reserves of strategic raw materials which for years had accumulated in the occupied countries.

At the Eastern Front, however, Germany's huge war machine is being increasingly harassed. On the battlefields of the U.S.S.R. Hitler Germany is day after day losing tens and hundreds of thousands of men, including a considerable part of the Nazi cadres which constitute the core of the German Army. The war against the Soviet Union is taking a heavy toll of guns, tanks, aircraft and munitions. All of this material, which Hitler Germany could have used against other countries, particularly against Britain and the U.S.A., has been destroyed by the Red Army and is consequently a total loss for the German Army.

In her war against the U.S.S.R. Nazi Germany is compelled to spend her accumulated stocks of valuable raw materials—chromite, molybdenum, wolfram, tremendous quantities of oil, rubber, cotton and lubricating oils. Replenishment of these supplies and especially of liquid fuel under conditions of the sea blockade is either entirely out of the question or can be accomplished only to a slight extent, for most of these materials are to be found neither in Germany, in her "allied" countries, nor in the occupied areas.

The further protraction of the war, resulting from the heroic resistance of the Red Army and the whole Soviet people, is undermining and will continue to undermine Hitler's rear. There are facts to prove that in the five-month war against the U.S.S.R. the position of fascist Germany has been drastically worsened. The supply of food and manufactured goods for the population is steadily growing worse. The news reaching Germany of the millions of Germans killed or wounded on the Eastern Front has a particularly adverse effect on the people. The shortage of manpower reserves, which are so quickly being destroyed in the war against the Soviet Union, compels the fascist ringleaders to draft into the army the entire male population, including seventeen-year-old youngsters and forty-year-old men.

Dissatisfaction at the protraction of the war and the difficulties and hardships it entails, and doubts as to the possibility of Hitler Germany emerging victorious, have taken hold of far greater sections, both in the Reich and in the Nazi army, and are of a much more profound nature than one would be led to think from the outer manifestations of this dissatisfaction. The fact that the Nazi press has frequent recourse to threats against "soreheads" and "elements who criticize everything and are never satisfied," the fact that the arch-liar Goebbels was compelled to publish a special article against "enemy propaganda which tries to set the German people against its leaders"—all this is sufficiently eloquent testimony that among the mass of German people there are accumulating serious forces opposed to the criminal war perpetrated by Hitler and his bloody regime. This gradual but neverthe-

less effective undermining of the German rear cannot but weaken the whole of Germany's war machine.

In this respect, too, the Red Army is rendering great aid to all the peoples against whom the German imperialists intend to direct their apparatus of destruction. Every Englishman feels and knows how much easier the position of the British people has become thanks to the magnificent struggle of the Red Army and of the whole Soviet people against Hitler fascism. One need only recall England's position a year ago in order to fully realize the importance of the support which the British people have been reeciving from the Soviet Union. A year ago hundreds and indeed thousands of fascist planes were bombing London, Liverpool, Glasgow and other British towns. Everyone knows of the ordeal of Coventry and other densely populated industrial centers. The invasion danger was a very real and stern one.

The Red Army's resistance has radically changed the situation. For six months now the whole of Germany's aviation has been engaged at the Eastern Front. Single German planes appear over England only at rare intervals. The danger of invasion has been relegated to the background and England is able to restore her war plants and ports destroyed by Nazi bombings. British munitions and shipbuilding industries can work at full speed without being hampered by mass enemy air raids. The high losses in men and material resulting from German bombings have now been reduced to a minimum. Great Britain has gained the necessary respite to develop her armed forces, train officers and technical personnel, build up a large army in England proper as well as in the Near and Middle East which could be used in a war against the mortal enemy, German fascism.

The Red Army's heroic resistance to the fascist hordes is of tremendous vital importance for the American people, too. It is generally known that when the war broke out the United States was not prepared in a military sense to repel a possible Nazi invasion. But the United States has received the opportunity to make up for lost time. It is now using the time won, thanks to the resistance of the Red Army, to reconstruct its powerful industries and place them on a war footing, erect new war plants and organize mass output of ammunition, tanks, aircraft and other weapons. The heroic struggle of the Soviet people and the Red Army is of tremendous importance for increasing the labor productivity in war industries of the countries fighting Germany or opposed to her. The Red Army's self-sacrificing resistance has promoted unity among the working people of these countries in the struggle against fascism and raised a mighty wave of enthusiasm which finds concrete expression in the marked growth of war output. This was particularly evident in the Tanks for Russia Week organized in England, when the tank workers surpassed all previous output quotas.

We also know that in British aircraft plants the workers are exerting every effort, moved by the ardent desire to support the Soviet

Union in the war against Hitlerism. They wish to see to it at least that more British planes shall go to the Eastern Front.

Not only in Britain, but in the United States, Canada, Australia and India, munitions workers are improving and increasing their output, inspired by the mighty resistance and counter-attacks. The publication in October of the joint declaration by the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. and the British Trade Union Congress will undoubtedly further strengthen and improve the work of the war industry in Britain and other countries. This improvement in war production will further the common cause of all peoples and states vitally interested in the defeat of German fascism. In this way Britain and the United States are all the more strengthening their own position against the most dangerous enemy the more actively and resolutely they support the struggle of the Soviet people and the Red Army. The quicker Britain and the U.S.A. provide the Soviet Union with necessary aid and the larger the scale and effective forms of this aid, the less sacrifices will be required in the final analysis from the people of England and America, and the quicker will the common aim, the rout of German fascism, be achieved.

Victory over fascist Germany and in particular its speedy achievement depends on further strengthening the collaboration among the three great powers that stand at the head of the world anti-Hitler front —the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and the United States. Upon this collaboration depends to a great extent how speedily the present movement among the enslaved peoples against the Nazi occupation forces will develop into an open national liberation war, which Hitler's war machine, harassed, worn down and weakened at the Eastern Front, will no longer be able to crush.

It is no secret that one of the main reasons for Nazi Germany's military successes prior to Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. was that Hitler dealt with small disunited countries and that German fascism was not countered by a real coalition of powers capable of achieving the required coordination and organizing joint military action. Hitler defeated his enemies piecemeal, crushing one country after another, and every campaign served to prepare the blow against the next victim. This favorite method, disuniting his foes, Hitler tried to apply in his perfidious attack against the Soviet Union. His fiendish design was to isolate first the U.S.S.R. on the international arena, score a Blitzkrieg victory, gain control of Soviet raw materials, foodstuffs, oil and other riches, and then turn against isolated England and finally make war on the United States, when it stood alone, deprived of allies.

This tried and tested tactic of divide and rule miscarried. Hitler failed to deceive the British and American peoples and the rulers of those countries. Fascist Germany and not the U.S.S.R. was isolated. Nazi Germany's attack on the U.S.S.R. was followed by the conclusion of a military and political agree-

ment between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. This, in turn, was followed by the meeting between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, their joint message to Stalin on the convocation of a three-power conference in Moscow, and the publication of a joint Anglo-American Eight-Point Platform. The Soviet Government's recognition of this platform as a base for the struggle against fascist Germany means that there exists a single political principle of an anti-Hitler world coalition.

Lastly, the conference of the three great powers, the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States, held in Moscow at the end of September gave a practical solution to the problem of distributing the resources of these nations in the interests of victory over their common enemy and especially the question of aid to the Soviet Union in her struggle against predatory Hitler Germany. Practical cooperation among three of the world's greatest powers undoubtedly represents a grave political defeat for fascist Germany. For the first time since she embarked on her military aggression Nazi Germany has encountered a coalition of great powers. This is failure for Hitler's whole plan, failure for his whole political strategy and in the present war it is fraught with onerous consequences for the Nazi Reich, and will influence the future course of the war.

Suffice it to point to the fact that Kaiser Germany lost the war of 1914-18 on the diplomatic and political field before her armies were actually defeated on the field of battle. The anti-Hitler coalition which has now been formed is potentially much more powerful than the one which brought Germany to her knees in 1918. It is true that Nazi Germany's war machine is stronger than the one Imperial Germany possessed. But the economy of Hitler Germany is a one-sided military economy. Consequently, it is more vulnerable than was that of Imperial Germany. As distinguished from former Germany, the Nazi Reich, long before the war began in 1939, had fully reconstructed its economy along military lines. This gave fascist Germany the considerable but only temporary advantage that her war machine was better prepared for action than was Kaiser Wilhelm's. However, with the war being more and more drawn out, fascist Germany is losing its advantage.

More, this advantage is becoming a disadvantage for Germany because her economy, which for several years has been surrendering all its funds for military purposes, will continue to be exhausted more rapidly.

Fascist Germany's rear is incomparably less stable and firm than was that of the Germany of 1914-18. The position behind the German lines is particularly precarious in the occupied countries, where the Nazi conquerors are virtually sitting on volcanoes. The execution of hundreds upon hundreds of hostages in France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, Belgium, Norway and other countries, the veritable guerrilla war raging in Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Greece,

and partisan movements in Poland and Norway, are all signs that things are coming to a head in the German-occupied countries and that with the first serious reverse of the German Army at the front we can without exaggeration foresee an open revolt in several of the oppressed nations against the fascist marauders.

On the other hand, everyone knows that, unlike tsarist Russia, the U.S.S.R. is now a powerful industrial country. Its industrial output exceeds that of tsarist Russia ten and a half fold. And though the Soviet Union has temporarily lost part of its territory, including a number of industrial regions, it is rapidly developing its industries in areas inaccessible to the enemy. Deep in its vast territory, the U.S.S.R. possesses a mighty industrial base, which was lacking in tsarist Russia. Soviet agriculture is run on the largest scale and is the most mechanized in the world. The Red Army is infinitely stronger than was the tsarist army. Nor is it only because it is technically much better equipped, but also because it has no class contradictions and is supported by the whole Soviet people, which has achieved a degree of political and moral unity such as was totally out of the question under tsardom.

But not only is the U.S.S.R. much stronger than was Russia in the war of 1914-18. Since that war was fought, states which now form the anti-Hitler coalition, particularly the United States, have considerably increased their forces. The United States has in the post-war period become the world's greatest industrial power. It produces more steel than all other capitalist countries taken together. Its industrial output accounts for 50 per cent of the aggregate world output, excluding the Soviet Union. The United States, Britain and the U.S.S.R. possess sufficient quantities of every kind of raw material and have inexhaustible resources, natural wealth and manpower.

At the same time the so-called German allies are in all respects weaker than were the allies of Imperial Germany. In the last World War Germany had on her side the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with its 9,000,000-strong army, which defeated Germany's present number one ally, Italy. Turkey, Germany's other ally in the last World War, was stronger than such of Hitler's present "allies" as Rumania and Finland.

The present anti-Hitler front possesses everything required for victory over fascist Germany. It has at its disposal much larger armies than Hitler and his vassals. Part of these armies have as yet taken no part in the fighting, or very little part, as is true of Britain's million-strong forces. At any rate they are not weakened by serious losses. The anti-Hitler front has colossal naval superiority over Nazi Germany and her allies. It is an open secret that Hitler Germany, while possessing a definite number of submarines and small warcraft, has no large-scale navy. The Italian fleet has suffered materially from British naval operations and is to a great extent incapable of action.

The anti-Hitler coalition of democratic powers has great economic superiority, which means that the anti-Hitler armies will be better equipped technically, will be provided with more motor power, tanks, aircraft and munitions than their fascist adversaries. It should not be difficult to see the part this technical and economic superiority will play in deciding the outcome of this war.

Stalin pointed out that:

"The present war is a war of motors. He who will have the overwhelming superiority in the production of motors will win the war. If we combine the output of the motors of the United States, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. we will have a superiority in motors of at least three to one as compared with Germany. Herein lies one of the bases of the inevitable doom of Hitler's robber imperialism."*

It should also be noted that the sources of raw materials, minerals and industrial enterprises in the anti-Hitler coalition countries are for the most part beyond the reach of the enemy, whereas German industry is completely exposed to blows by enemy aviation.

Of particular importance for the success of the anti-Hitler coalition is that the powers which constitute it can count on the support not only of the population of the German-occupied countries but also on the masses of people in Hitler's "allied" countries—Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Finland and others, which are being so ruthlessly looted by Hitler and converted into instruments of his robber policy.

Thus the anti-Hitler coalition has all the objective conditions to crush German fascism and score a complete victory. All that is required is a strong unyielding will to press into action and make full use of the great advantages which this coalition possesses. It is necessary that the indomitable determination and boundless spirit of self-sacrifice which imbue the Soviet people in this great struggle be manifested by the anti-fascists the world over. It is necessary that all efforts of the anti-Hitlerites on a world scale be strictly coordinated and directed toward one goal. All the blows in other parts of the world must be aimed at one target.

The experiences of the last war showed that the Allied powers were able to reach the turning point only when complete coordination of the efforts of all countries engaged against Germany was organized and when each of the belligerents contributed its all and exerted every effort for victory.

The gigantic struggle of the democratic powers and the freedom-loving peoples against barbarity and savagery demands that they unhesitatingly be prepared, following the example of the Soviet Union, to make any sacrifice and go through any hardships. Victory depends on the unyielding will of the peoples and their governments to achieve it. To forge and steel this will mean to ensure the chief condition for victory.

* *Stalin Speaks to the World*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 13.

HITLER STANDS FOR REACTION, CHAUVINISM AND WAR WITHOUT END

BY PETER WIEDEN

GERMAN fascism represents the most extreme, barbarian and predatory dictatorship of German imperialism. From its very inception German imperialism has always been particularly reactionary, chauvinistic and militaristic. This was not only the result of the social process of capitalist degeneration; it is also the result of Germany's specific historic development over the course of several centuries.

In Central European countries class struggles in the middle ages gave rise to strong centralized state powers, which paved the way for more or less uniform revolutions involving the whole nation.

In Russia Peter I subdued the boyars and united Russia into one integral state. Germany, on the other hand, represented a conglomerate of dozens of weak principalities, a multicolored patchwork of numerous territories. The Thirty Years War had hurled Germany back into a state of utter anarchy and barbarity. Her lands were devastated and bands of highway robbers and famished beggars roamed through ruined towns and villages in the vain search for food, welcoming even human flesh. Dejected, fear-stricken burghers inhabited desolate and war-ridden cities. A vast army of feudal lords, ignorant, drunken and impoverished rulers who oppressed their subjects, were prepared to sell themselves to the highest bidder. Those were the days when Germany was overtaken by all other countries and was far behind in economic, political and cultural development.

In Britain, France, Holland and other countries all important national problems were for a definite period solved by bourgeois-democratic revolutions; in Germany these problems remained unsolved.

At every turning point in German history it was not revolution but reaction that left its imprint on the national development. The liberation war of 1813 produced a corrupt petty reaction that evoked universal hatred. The Revolution of 1848 failed and did not lead to Germany's unification. Only after the predatory war of 1871 did the Prussian military bring about at long last the establishment of a "German empire of the Prussian nation" (Friedrich Engels). The host of princes and generals clad in gaudy helmets, uniforms and jackboots

who gathered in Versailles to proclaim the German Empire left their imprint on the new German state.

The German people were not present at the birth of the German Empire. Thus the German state entered the historical arena late in the day. It originated not through revolution; and Prussian reaction was its midwife. German capitalism was most intimately connected with Junkerdom, hostile to all progress, and was saturated with reactionary traditions. On this basis of reaction, militarism and medieval absolutism, there grew up a particularly rapacious and avid imperialism, always brandishing weapons and giving expression to its inordinate lust for war. The German imperialists were always set on achieving their goal by force of arms and winning for themselves a "place in the sun" (to use their present-day term, *lebensraum).*

The pan-Germanism of Kaiser Germany, with its rabid plans of world domination, was a prelude to German fascism. The war of 1914-18, in which German imperialism at the price of millions of corpses wanted to establish its own world empire, ended in a catastrophic defeat for Germany. The bourgeois revolution was again crushed and once more reaction emerged victorious.

With furious desperation, rapacity and ruthlessness, shaken by defeat, the German imperialists began to arm in preparation for a new world war. From Germany's defeat in the war they drew the most rabid and criminal conclusions, much to the misfortune of Germany. They took the view that Germany must become even more reactionary, even more chauvinistic and militaristic than she had been in 1914. To attain victory in this second world war Germany must become a beast of prey, crushing all barriers and giving no quarter. This task of paving the way for the darkest forces of reaction, for chauvinism run amuck and barbarism unleashed, was assigned to the fascist bandit fuehrers.

Today the whole world sees German fascism in its true colors: reaction in politics, ideology and social relations. The whole system of Hitler's terrorist domination and all measures it has introduced are aimed at reducing the people to a state of barbarity, to turn them back to animal life. The nation is to be converted into a herd of beasts aimlessly following their leader, and it is for their so-called fuehrer to decide everything himself. Subjects of Hitler Germany are not supposed to exercise their brains, they must give up thinking altogether as an evil, and regard blind, unconditional doglike obedience as the supreme virtue. All that has been attained by humanity in the thousands of years of its progress, all that stood mankind in good stead and helped it rise above animal life —individuality, the gift of self-determination, human dignity, respect for fellow men, recognition of principles, morality—all this is exposed to gross humiliation and ostracism and trampled underfoot.

The "blond beast" so highly praised by Nietzsche, Germany's reactionary philosopher, as human

perfection itself, is now being reared in hundreds of thousands. With unexampled hatred German fascism is striving to destroy the ideas and gains of all revolutions. Nor are its blows directed only against the ideas of bourgeois-democratic revolutions, but also against the positive ideas of religious and philosophical systems. The very principles of individual liberty and dignity evoke pathological fury among Hitler's gang. The right of the strong, terrorist violence, a cynical principle that everything useful to his own horde is good and everything accomplished by others must be rejected and destroyed as evil, is the foundation of the German fascist policy. Brutality is the property of every reaction, but never yet has any reactionary system so deliberately and with such calculated and coldblooded brutality set out to break the backbone of humanity. Never has any reactionary system perpetrated such atrocities on its victims as has German fascism.

When the fascist beasts invaded Austria they wanted by their unheard-of torture to compel an antifascist to crawl on all fours and shout "I am a swine." But their prisoner bravely withstood this ordeal and constantly repeated "I am a man." In their fury these hangmen broke his bones and beat his face and body into a bloody pulp, but from this mutilated body, which no longer resembled a human being, there came with a last breath the proud cry, "I am a man."

Fascism is out to destroy this feeling of human self-respect and were it able to do so it would transform several millions of people into wolves and the rest of mankind into frightened and muzzled dogs. Domination over the obedient is the highest desire of fascist reaction.

The German fascists have destroyed all organizations which served to promote militant solidarity in the struggle for the rights of the working people. No longer have the working folk the right to elect those who champion their interests and speak up for their demands. The people have been disunited by fascist terror, divided into separate individuals, hounded down by spies and stool pigeons and constantly living in an atmosphere of treachery and espionage. All social life has been pressed into the framework of a notorious unification policy. Germany's criminal rulers have disbanded even such harmless organizations as the Philatelists and Society for the Promotion of Rabbit Breeding. This destruction by the Nazis of all social ties between men extends also to the family, the most elementary and stable unit. Family bonds and family solidarity are regarded by the Nazi rulers as a grave danger. They therefore wrest children from the home and try to instil in every family the poison of servility and treachery.

Under Hitler's rule people must cease to feel themselves as social beings, they must become unified automatons set in motion or stopped by the simple pressing of a button. This total reaction, of course, has taken hold of science and art. In science nothing disturbs the fascists so much as the search after truth.

To them lies constitute the essence of all things and that is why they proclaim as scientific truth everything that plays into the hands of the Hitler regime. Literature and the arts in Hitler Germany are merely an instrument of propaganda; that degenerate Goebbels has been declared an Apollo who lays down the standards for literature and scientific activities and compels the Muses to appear in S.A. jackboots, to parade and to blow his victory fanfares.

This reaction at its worse is invading every sphere of public endeavor and is intimately linked up with a chauvinism bordering on fury. Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg and the rest of that gang of out-and-out criminals have incited in Germany a morbid hatred for all other peoples. The disgraceful cannibal-like persecution of the Jews has been but a forerunner of incited hatred for all peoples such as history has never known. Czechs, Poles, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans and finally the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are depicted in Nazi propaganda as "sub-humans." The policy of degrading and slandering other nations from the outset has been coupled with a veritable orgy of self-praise.

Day after day the Germans had been told that they are the most capable and remarkable people on earth, the world's seventh wonder, the magic wand of Providence. All inventions and discoveries are of German origin—"Made in Germany"—and all other nations have only the Germans to thank for the discovery of fire, the modern processing of metal and indeed for all achievements of modern technology and culture. The self-satisfaction and complacency of a Philistine who regards his mode of life, his manner of eating and thinking as the only correct one and everything else as an evil delusion have been carried to extremes and passed off as a faultless world outlook.

The German nation, the Nazi fuehrers tell us, is destined to become the world's benefactor by bestowing on mankind the Prussian order and making all peoples happy by placing them under the care of Prussian sergeant-majors and executioners. This mad chauvinism has given rise to a home-made "theory," a notorious race theory which has all the earmarks and odors of a wild beast. The Germans, according to this theory, are, of course, by virtue of certain inexplicable peculiarities of their blood, the very essence of all noble races. These peculiarities defy precise definition but nevertheless they give the Germans the power and right to rule over Anglo-Saxons, Roman peoples, Slavs and in fact over all other races. This "blood myth" creates for those who advocate it a very convenient and very cheap pretext for asserting their power. No efforts or achievements are required to force recognition from the rest of the world. The "blood myth" in itself is sufficient ground to be classed among the noble and to justify their rule over all other peoples. The fascist ringleaders have carried chauvinism to the point of fury, for they are well aware that only the most extreme method can enable them to

overcome the moral resistance of the German people to the war.

Germany was not attacked and the German people did not suffer from national oppression. There was no pretext to justify this most terrible of all wars. The German imperialists, who for years had been preparing this war, therefore, deemed it necessary to instill in the German youth the germ of imperialist ferocity. All feeling of justice, humanity and every trace of freedom-loving aspirations had to be rooted out of the growing generation and the morals of the highway robber inculcated in their place. "You will be the masters of the world, all its treasures will belong to you. No frontiers will stop you, no barriers. You will take whatever you like and your desire and will shall become law for all peoples. Leave all doubt aside! These peoples are unworthy of determining their own destinies, they await only German domination."

With the aid of such propaganda the German youth have been converted into imperialist servitors and prepared for this unparalleled war of rape and loot. "Dope people so that they may die obediently" is the principle which Hitler set forth in his *Mein Kampf*. It has become the guiding principle of fascist propaganda. Chauvinism is the most effective and strongest of all poisons with which Hitler dopes his people. Under the influence of this poison the German soldiers are dashing from one battlefield to another. Doped in order to die obediently, they regard Nazi Germany as the supreme and universal standard. All resistance to German aggression is in their view a crime against the "World Order." The frenzied madness of "German infallibility" makes them blind to the facts of historical development. With their glassy eyes fixed on empty space they go along the endless roads of war only to be caught up by death and catastrophe. War without rights —this is the characteristic feature of German fascism. War has always been the base and foul aim of the German fascists. War of plunder and conquest, war for the sake of German imperialism, for the sake of Krupp and Thyssen, Kirdorf and Ponsgen, Flick and Vogler, a war to establish their world domination. Although Hitler declared in *Mein Kampf* that he wants "only" to destroy France, that he intends "only" to convert Russia into a German province and wishes to live in peace and friendship with England, he at the same time demanded colonies, maintaining that the German *Lebensraum* cannot be confined to a definite frontier, and his "geopolitical" agitators proclaimed Africa and the Near East to be the "entrance" to Germany's *Lebensraum*.

One would indeed have had to be a simpleton to think that Germany could achieve her mad demands by peaceful methods. Hence, Germany *must* sooner or later have come to blows with England and the U.S.A. The extremely elastic conception of *Lebensraum*, which like an octopus stretches its tentacles in every direction and tries to gain a foothold in all parts of the world, from the beginning contained in itself the

conception of a world war, Germany's war against the world's strongest powers. Once begun, this war had to spread to all continents and include the whole world in its orbit.

Hitler tried to console himself with the hope that he would be able to conduct this world war in installments, as it were, and that by clumsy and insolent deceit and trickery he would avert a simultaneous war against the great powers and deal with each of them separately. At first it would be France, then England, then the Soviet Union and finally the United States of America. This plan of the flushed but nearsighted adventurer ended in dismal failure.

Since the conquest of France, carried out more or less according to plan, all of Hitler's plans have suffered fiasco. England withstood the assault and she has become stronger not weaker. Having failed in his efforts to conquer Engand, Hitler turned to the Soviet Union. His perfidious attack was from its very first stages a political catastrophe for him. England became the ally of the U.S.S.R.; the Red Army's mighty resistance, the Soviet people's patriotic war upset all Hitler's plans.

At present the United States has joined sides with England and the Soviet Union, and Hitler is faced by an invincible coalition. This war has grown into a protracted war and—as far as Hitler Germany is concerned—into a hopeless war. Now it is clear that the outcome of this war will be determined neither by individual battles nor by transitory military successes, no matter how imposing they may seem to the nearsighted and the credulous.

Behind the Nazis' hysterical cries that "the enemy is annihilated"—followed six weeks later by shouts of "this time we really annihilated the enemy"—behind all this hullabaloo is an evergrowing desperation in face of the inexorable fact that this is a titanic struggle of attrition.

In this war every battlefield has behind it a new battlefield, behind every army looms a new army and behind every wall of fire and heaps of German corpses—for in no other war has the Hitler Reich had such heavy losses—there are the inexhaustible manpower and material reserves of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States, coming into action in increasing force.

German troops are being hurled from country to country and from one front to another. They are fighting and dying far away from Germany and the end of the war is not yet in sight. When France went down these men thought that victory and peace were as sure as won. They wrote their wives: "Now we are going to England and in a few weeks we shall be home." They went, not to England, but to Africa, Jugoslavia, Greece and Crete. And then their plans were again upset and they were sent to the Soviet Union along roads riddled by bullets of war and the breath of death.

The German soldiers were promised a six-week campaign but the summer and autumn months have gone and today the Nazi soldier

knows that there will be a third war winter and that he can hardly count on ever returning from Russia. He sees no end to this war.

And in Germany itself the people are beginning to understand that fascism stands for war without end. "If this war is not over this year [1941] we will be in a bad fix," this thought can be read in hundreds of letters found on German soldiers. That the war would not be over in 1941 was as clear as clear could be. But to the German people many more things will become clear: that the Soviet Union, with its gigantic raw materials and industrial regions in the Urals and beyond the Urals, in districts inaccessible to Hitler, with its armies numbering millions which as yet have not entered the struggle, will unswervingly continue the war. It will become clear to the Germans that British armaments are increasing with every passing month, and Canada, South Africa, Australia and India are beginning to throw more weight into the war effort. It will also become clear that the American war output will in the coming year surpass the entire war output of Europe and that in this contest the German war industry must of necessity lag behind as Germany's forces become more depleted.

It will become equally clear that Hitler Germany's adversaries have a firm grip on naval superiority, are gaining in air superiority and are nearing the day when they will be producing more motors and tanks than Germany and her vassal states. The German people will also see that in the occupied regions there is growing opposition, labor productivity is falling and the position of the invader is becoming precarious. On the other hand, in Germany itself an insurmountable war weariness of the people is becoming ever more felt. For Hitler and his gang there is no way out of this war, into which they have hurled humanity. They can hope for no respite, still less for peace. Everyone knows that Hitler never keeps his word and that all his promises are made only to be broken, that he concludes treaties only to scrap them the next day and that lies are his only principles, and perjury his very essence.

While Hitler remains in power and while German fascism exists there can be no peace in the world. The peoples have realized that in order to attain peace German fascism must be destroyed; they see that the end of the war must come through the overthrow of Hitler and his tyranny and that there is not, nor can there be, any other road to peace.

The great Soviet people and the Red Army are providing the world with a splendid example of indomitable resistance to fascist aggression. Hitler brought into play his vast war machine in an effort to crush the people by the weight of his tanks. This cynical criminal who loathes human beings and regards machines as a decisive factor has grossly miscalculated. Little does he know what people are capable of when defending their country, their liberty and all that is cherished by man.

As in antiquity the Persian rulers

were convinced that they could crush Greece by overwhelming superiority in war chariots and armaments, so Hitler is convinced that sheer power in his tanks and Panzer divisions is invincible. In ancient times, to the Persian invaders' bragging threat to eclipse the sun with their arrows, the Greeks replied with the immortal words: "We shall fight in darkness!" And, fighting in darkness to the last drop of blood, they broke through to the light of victory.

Beyond the heroic battles waged by the Red Army on behalf of the peoples enslaved by Hitler one can see the dawn, liberty, progress, culture and human dignity. The Soviet people are fighting for all that is so dear to mankind, for its native country and people, for its hearth and home, for its liberty, for the honor of its womenfolk and the future of its children. Its cause is the cause of all progressive mankind. The peoples who will overthrow German fascism by dint of heroic effort and by unprecedented sacrifice will perform a deed that will glorify them forever. They will free the world of the most terrible reaction, of the most beastly chauvinism and deliver it from the bloodiest war ever recorded by history.

MOLOTOV'S NOTE ON GERMAN ATROCITIES IN OCCUPIED SOVIET TERRITORY

(The following note was issued by Vyacheslav M. Molotov, People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., to all ambassadors and ministers of countries with which the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations. The note was made public in Kuibyshev January 7, 1942.)

ON INSTRUCTIONS of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics I have the honor to inform you of the following:

The liberation by the Red Army, in the course of its continuing successful counter-offensive, of a number of towns and rural localities which had been temporarily in the hands of the German invaders has revealed and continues to reveal increasingly every day an unheard-of picture of pillage, general devastation, abominable violence, outrage and massacre, perpetrated by the German fascist occupants upon the non-combatant population during the German offensive, occupation and retreat.

Abundant documentary material at the disposal of the Soviet Government testifies to the fact that plunder and ruination of the population, accompanied by bestial outrage and massacre, are widespread in all districts which have fallen under the Nazi heel. Irrefutable facts prove that this regime of plunder and bloody terrorism against the non-combatant population of occupied villages and towns represents a definite system, devised beforehand and encouraged by the German Government and German Command, who consciously let loose among the officers and soldiers of their army the basest bestial instincts, and that it is not a matter of excesses by isolated, undisciplined military units nor by individual German officers and soldiers.

Every step of the German fascist army and its allies on captured Soviet territory of the Ukraine, Moldavia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Karelian and Finnish territory and Russian districts and regions involves the devastation and destruction of innumerable material and cultural values of our people, loss by the non-combatant population of their property accumulated by persistent labor, institution of a regime of forced hard labor, famine and bloody massacres, before the horrors of which the most terrible crimes ever known in human history fade into insignificance.

The Soviet Government and its organs keep detailed records of all the villainous crimes of Hitler's army, for which an indignant Soviet people justly demands retribution and will attain it.

The Soviet Government deems it its duty to bring to the knowledge of all civilized humanity, of all honest people in the world, its statement of facts illustrating the monstrous crimes committed by Hitler's army against the peaceful population of captured territories of the Soviet Union.

Wherever the German invaders have set foot on Soviet territory they have brought destruction and devastation to our towns and villages. They have devastated and even burned to the ground scores of towns and thousands of villages in temporarily occupied districts of the U.S.S.R.

Many instances have been registered of bandit devastation and destruction by German troops of city buildings, factories and other structures, including whole city blocks, as happened in Minsk, Kiev, Novgorod, Kharkov, Rostov, Kalinin and other towns. The towns of Istra, Klin and Rogachevo, in the Moscow Region; Epifan, in the Tula Region; Yelna, in the Smolensk Region and a number of others have been reduced to ruins.

The German invaders erased hundreds of villages in the Ukraine and Byelorussia, and in the Moscow, Leningrad, Tula and other regions of our country. In the village of Dedilovo, of the Tula Region, the occupants burned down 960 houses out of 998. In the village of Pozhidayevka, of the Kursk Region, they burned 554 houses out of 602. In the village of Ozeretskoye, in the Krasnaia Polyana District of the Moscow Region, 225 houses were burned out of 232. The village of Kobneshki, of the same district, which numbered 123 houses, was completely burned out. In the Vyssokovo District of the Moscow Region, 85 houses out of 99 were burned in the village of Nekrassino, and 66 out of 69 in the village of Baklanovo.

When they evacuated the villages of Krasnaia Polyana, Myshetskoye, Ozherelye and Vyssokovo, in the Moscow region, the Germans detailed automatic riflemen to pour gasoline over houses and set them on fire. When residents tried to put out the fires, the Germans shot at them with automatic rifles. Of 80 houses in the village of Myshetskoye only five remain. Of 200 in Ozherelye, eight remain. Of 76 in Vyssokovo, three remain.

A 77-year-old peasant named Grigoryev was shot because he said, "Don't burn my house!"

This base and criminal destruction of our towns and villages gives expression to the dark Hitlerite hatred of our country, of the labor and achievements of the Soviet people, and of what has already been done to improve the life of peasants, workers and intellectuals in the U.S.S.R. These villainous crimes are everywhere perpetrated by the invaders in accordance with orders from their superiors.

An order-of-the-day of the 512th German Infantry Regiment, signed by Colonel Schitnig and recently captured near the town of Verkhovye, of the Orel Region, says with unbounded cynicism: "The zone which, depending on circumstances, should be evacuated, must be a desert after the withdrawal of our troops. In places where full destruc-

tion is to be effected, all houses must be burned. For this purpose all houses should be filled with straw beforehand, especially those made of stone. Stone buildings must be blown up. In particular, all cellars should be destroyed. Measures for the creation of a devastated zone should be prepared and carried out ruthlessly and in full."

Devastating our towns and villages, the German Command orders its troops to create "desert zones" in all Soviet territories from which Red Army troops succeed in ousting the invaders. And wherever the occupants remain on our territory they continue committing their vile banditry, converting populated localities into "desert zones." They blow up and burn public buildings, factories, mills, schools, libraries, hospitals and churches.

In villages occupied by the German authorities, the peaceful peasant population is subjected to unrestrained pillage and violence. The peasants are deprived of their property, accumulated by decades of persistent labor. They are robbed of their houses, cattle, grain, clothing and everything down to the last baby's shirt and handful of grain.

Often the rural population, including old folk, women and children, is evicted from its houses immediately after the German occupation and compelled to seek shelter in dugouts and trenches in the forest, or simply in the open. In broad daylight the occupants strip anyone they meet on the roads, including children, of clothing and footwear, and cruelly suppress all those who attempt to protest or offer any resistance to plunder.

In villages of the Rostov and Voroshilovgrad Regions of the Ukraine, later liberated by the Red Army, peasants were repeatedly plundered by the occupants. As various German military units passed through a given locality, each of them began anew the searches, violence, arson and executions for failure to surrender food. The same thing happened in the Moscow, Kalinin, Tula, Orel, Leningrad and other regions, from which Red Army troops are now driving the remnants of the German invaders.

Thus, in the village of Maslovo, of the Tula Region, German officers and soldiers confiscated all foodstuffs and created a situation in which one or two persons died daily of starvation in that village. Such German-occupied villages can be found everywhere.

Everywhere in the villages, the German invaders take away all stocks of food, slaughter the cattle and poultry, carry off the grain and other produce and, like petty thieves, steal all domestic utensils, clothing, underwear, footwear, furniture and children's toys.

In the village of Golubovka, of the Voroshilovgrad Region, the population, already robbed of all its food stocks, was again plundered by the Germans, who took away from the women and children their last remnants of food and all domestic utensils, clothing, pillows, blankets and kitchen utensils which they could carry.

The following instances are typical: In the village of Golubovka,

the Germans took away from collective farmer Leschenko, mother of three small children, all the children's shirts and coats, and all their remaining food. In the same village a German officer and several soldiers broke into the house of school teacher Matienko and took away all her clothing and children's things and hacked to pieces with axes the furniture which they could not carry off.

In the village of Prudnoye, of the Tula Region, German soldiers broke into a house where 150 invalids were sheltered and took away all their warm clothing and food, threatening these helpless people with arms. On December 7, not long before the liberation of the village of Kolodeznaia, of the Tula Region, by the Red Army, the Germans shot 32 men and women in this village because they allegedly failed to surrender to the Germans all their warm clothing.

In the village of Vlassovo, of the Moscow Region, a woman collective farmer who resisted the robbers when they were stealing her cabbage and potatoes was wounded by a shot from an automatic rifle. When the wounded woman shouted and cursed the Germans, calling them bandits and robbers, they shot her to death with a burst of fire from the automatic rifle. After this they began shooting at the whole population of the village, which had gathered there.

Everywhere, the German Army has instituted a regime of bloody reprisals under the pretext that not all food had been surrendered, that not all warm clothing had been brought to them, or that delivery of these things was not carried out with sufficient alacrity. Attempts to lodge complaints with the German authorities against marauders and robbers are regarded as "Communist propaganda" and sympathy with the Soviet Government, entailing new reprisals.

In order not to let collective farm property and cattle out of their hands, the German invaders placed on the collective farms their Nazi managers, recruited in Germany from among members of the Nazi Party anxious to make their fortunes by any dirty methods, or sometimes from among vile degenerates. In their orders, the German occupants insolently state: "Collective farm land and property pass into the possession of the German Army."

In one such order dated July 9, the German Command stated: "Within 48 hours after publication of this order all former collective farm property in the hands of peasants should be surrendered to the appropriate managers. Non-compliance will be punished by shooting." In this way the rapacious plunderers deal with our peasants and their property.

The urban population in districts temporarily occupied by the Germans is also subjected to unrestrained robbery. Everywhere, in the towns they have captured, German officers and soldiers have broken into houses of local workers, office employees, intellectuals and superannuated pensionaires and, disregarding everything and hesitating at no law, have seized what-

ever caught their eye, from valuables down to mere kitchen utensils.

The marauders accompanied this pillaging with bloody reprisals. Thus, in the center of Orel, the Germans put up a gallows and hanged an old man who protested against plunder. Beside him they hanged several citizens who refused to assist the Hitlerites in robbing the population of clothing and underwear.

In Rostov-on-Don, later liberated by the Red Army, the Germans ransacked all shops; stripped passers-by in the streets of their clothing, footwear, watches and valuables; pillaged houses wholesale, and senselessly destroyed everything they found difficult to carry away.

In the town of Istra, of the Moscow Region, the occupants robbed the population literally of their every belonging; underwear, clothing, crockery, furniture. Right in the streets they stripped local men and women workers of their clothes and footwear. Local residents were evicted en masse from their houses and deprived of fuel. On December 10 the Germans herded about 2,000 residents of the town, together with their children, into a church in the village of Darno, where many of them died of cold and hunger. On retreating from Istra, the Germans burned the town, thus completing the abominable list of their crimes perpetrated there.

German officers and soldiers engage in orgies of plunder in all captured Soviet districts. The German authorities have legalized looting by their army and encourage pillage and violence. The German Government regards this as a realization of the bandit "principle" it once enunciated, according to which every German warrior must have a "personal, material interest in the war."

Thus, secret instructions dated July 17, 1941, addressed to the commanders of all propaganda companies of the German Army and found by Red Army troops when they routed the 68th German Infantry Division, directly order: "Foster in every officer and soldier of the German Army the consciousness of personal, material interest in the war."

Such orders, pushing the army to mass pillage and murder of the peaceful population, are issued also in the armies allied with the Germans. Thus, Order No. 24,220, issued by the Chief of Staff of the 14th Rumanian Division, Colonel Nikolaescu, states: "Grain, large and small horned animals, and poultry should be confiscated from the population for the use of the army. Thorough searches should be carried out in every house, and everything must be taken away without leaving anything. In case of the slightest resistance, the people are to be shot on the spot and the house burned."

With increasing frequency one encounters on the German-Soviet front, particularly at the approaches to Moscow, officers and soldiers wearing plundered clothing, with stolen articles in their pockets, carrying in their tanks clothing, footwear and underwear torn from their victims, who are women and children.

The German Army is more and more turning into an army of predatory robbers and marauders, who devastate and ransack the flourishing towns and villages of the Soviet Union, and pillage and destroy the property and all the belongings accumulated by the working population of our villages and towns. The facts testify to the utter moral degradation and corruption of Hitler's army, which by plundering, stealing and marauding, has deserved the wrathful curse and scorn of the whole Soviet people.

Wherever German troops and German authorities have appeared on Soviet territory they have immediately instituted a regime of the cruelest exploitation and most arbitrary deprivation of rights against the defenseless civilian population. The occupants have instituted a regime of forced hard labor for the peaceful population, which is ruined and deprived of all means of subsistence.

Disregarding their age and the state of their health, the Hitlerites throw many Soviet citizens into concentration camps, after occupying or destroying their houses, and force them under pain of torture, shooting and starvation to perform without pay various hard tasks, including work of a military nature. On many occasions, after civilians have been used for some kind of work of a military nature, all of them have been shot in order to preserve secrécy.

Thus, in the village of Kolpino, in the Smolensk Region, the occupants compelled all the peasants to build bridges and fortifications for the German troops. After the construction of the fortifications was complete, all the peasants were shot. In order to keep secret the erection of fortifications on the right bank of the Dnieper River near the Ukrainian village of Kryakov, the Germans shot 40 local residents who took part in the construction work.

Residents of a number of districts liberated by the Red Army, and situated far apart, state unanimously that the Germans used the civilian population for the particularly dangerous work of extracting mines from areas and objectives in front of the advancing German troops. Several documents of the German Command, taken by Red Army troops during the offensive at Rostov, prove that exploitation of the local population for particularly dangerous military work is provided for by special instructions of the German Command.

Thus, in an order-of-the-day of October 11, issued by the 76th German Infantry Division, Article 6, on Extraction of Mines, says: "Prisoners of war and individuals from the local population should be used for work entailing danger to life." This is but one of many base violations of all international regulations and all human morality with which the German Command has stained itself.

Peaceful residents forcibly set at compulsory work are called "prisoners of war" by the German authorities, and the same regime is instituted for them as for prisoners of war. It has been established that, in reports of the German Army Headquarters, peasants and other

peaceful residents driven to compulsory work are automatically classed as "captured prisoners of war," thus artificially and illegitimately swelling the number of war prisoners. The inhuman regime instituted by the German fascist authorities for prisoners of war also becomes the lot of the civilian population.

Near the town of Plavsk, in the Tula Region, the Germans set up a camp where prisoners of war and the civilian population of the surrounding villages were kept together. Among the peasants detained in the camp were adolescents and old men. Their food ration consisted of two potatoes and a small quantity of boiled barley daily. The peasants detained in the camp were not given water and were ordered to quench their thirst with snow. The death rate in the camp reached 25-30 a day. If the inmates gathered in a group the Germans shot at such groups without warning.

In the village of Bereznyaki, in the Poltava Region, the German Command posted an order stating that failure of local residents to report for work would be punished by shooting. Many thousands of peaceful residents in this vicinity were taken away by the occupants not only for compulsory labor nearby, but were also taken deep into the German rear to starve while performing slave labor for German landlords.

Hundreds of peasants from the villages of Luchane, Semitsa, Dubrovetskoye, Korolevshchina, Abramovshchina, in the Ilyinsky District of the Smolensk Region alone, were taken away for compulsory labor and disappeared without a trace. On November 22, when the Germans entered the village of Faustovo, in the Zvenigorod District of the Moscow Region, the German authorities gathered the whole population, picked out the men and stronger women, and sent them far to the rear.

During their retreat, the Germans drove to the rear the populations of the villages of Ershovo, Skokovo and Funkovo, in the Zvenigorod District, and the village of Yessipovo, in the Solnechnogorsk District. Before leaving they set fire to all these villages. The same thing occurred in many other villages of the Moscow, Kalinin, Tula, Ryazan and Orel Regions, now liberated from the Germans.

While retreating from the Ukrainian villages of Khudoyarovo, Novy Liman and various other villages of the Shevchenko District of the Kharkov Region, the Germans burned these villages to the ground and carried away the whole adult population.

A similar regime of forced hard labor and concentration camps is practiced by the Germans in larger Soviet towns. Thus, after the occupation of Kiev, the Germans drove to work the whole civilian population from 11 to 60 years old, irrespective of occupation, condition of health, or nationality. Invalids who could not stand on their feet were fined 50 rubles a day for each day they did not report for work.

In another Ukrainian town, Pyatikhatka, in the Dniepropetrovsk Region, the Germans forced the whole

population to work 20 hours a day without bread or water. Old men and women who collapsed from exhaustion were beaten with rifle butts and compelled to resume work under pain of cruel punishment and shooting.

In Kharkov the occupants decided especially to humiliate the local Ukrainian intellectuals. On November 5 an order was issued for all actors to appear for registration at the Shevchenko Theater building. When the actors gathered, they were surrounded by German soldiers, who harnessed them to carts and drove them along the most crowded streets to the river to haul water.

In all occupied regions the German Government established as local Nazi rulers all kinds of crooks from the Hitlerite party, who disregard all civil rights and all national customs of the population and attempt to Germanize everything and exterminate malcontents. These German authorities do everything to destroy all trace of the existence of the Republics which flourished as part of the Soviet State — the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia. The German invaders know that these Soviet Republics accomplished a tremendous work for the rebirth of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Moldavian peoples, for the extensive development of the national cultures of these peoples, similar to that accomplished by all peoples living in the fraternal community of the Soviet Union. The thick-headed fascists will yet realize that they will never succeed in Germanizing and subjugating these peoples.

The German invaders know no bounds in their hatred of the freedom-loving Russian people and the freedom-loving peoples of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Moldavia. The destruction of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other national cultures, the destruction of their national memorials, schools and literature, and the forcible Germanization of the populations irrespective of nationality follow German occupation everywhere with the same criminal regularity as do plunder, violence, arson and mass murder.

In their malicious persecution of Russian culture, the German invaders revealed the utter vileness and vandalism of German fascism. For a month and a half the Germans occupied world-famous Yasnaia Polyana, where one of the greatest geniuses of humanity, Leo Tolstoi, lived and engaged in creative work. This glorious memorial of Russian culture, cleared of invaders on December 14 by Red Army troops, was devastated, soiled, and finally set on fire by the Nazi vandals. The great writer's grave was defiled by the occupants.

Irreplaceable relics connected with Leo Tolstoi's life and creative work—manuscripts, books, pictures —were either stolen by the German soldiery or thrown out and destroyed. In reply to a request by the museum staff to discontinue using personal furniture and books of the great writer as fuel for heating the house and to use for this purpose available firewood, a German officer named Schwartz said: "We don't

need firewood. We will burn everything connected with the name of your Tolstoi."

On December 15, when Soviet troops liberated the town of Klin, it was revealed that the house in which the great Russian composer Tchaikovsky lived and engaged in creative work had been devastated and pillaged by Nazi officers and soldiers. In a building of the museum, the brazen occupants had set up a garage for motorcycles and had used for heating this garage the manuscripts, books, furniture and other museum exhibits — some of which, by the way, were stolen by the German invaders. In doing so, the Nazi officers knew that they were deriding the most remarkable memorial of Russian culture.

During their occupation of the town of Istra, the German troops set up an ammunition dump in the famous, ancient Russian monastery known as Novy Ierussalim, which was founded in 1654 and restored in the 18th Century by the great architects Rastrelli and Kazakov. The Novy Ierussalim Monastery was the outstanding historical and religious memorial of the Russian people, renowned as a great and beautiful structure. This did not prevent the German fascist pogromists from blowing up their ammunition dump in Novy Ierussalim when they retreated from Istra, turning the irreplaceable memorial of the history of the Russian church into a heap of ruins.

Among other cultural monuments of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. destroyed and defiled by the German vandals must be named the monument to the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko in the town of Kanev in the Ukraine, the house of the great Russian composer Rimsky-Korsakov in the town of Tikhvin and the house of the world famous Russian writer Chekhov in Taganrog. These, like many others, were destroyed by the occupants.

The German occupants stopped at nothing in the occupied districts of the Soviet Republics in order to offend in every way the national sentiments of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Letts, Lithuanians, Estonians and Moldavians, as well as of individual representatives of other nationalities inhabiting hte U.S.S.R., whom they subjected to similar outrages and violence when they encountered them on their bloody path—Jews, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanians, Tajiks, and other representatives of the Soviet peoples welded together by feelings of fraternal friendship and collaboration in the Soviet Union.

Posing as representatives of an allegedly "superior race," and demanding submissiveness and slave labor from the freedom-loving peoples of the Soviet Union, the Hitlerites, by their whole base and oppressive behavior, have aroused the indescribable indignation and hatred of all peoples and all strata of society in the Soviet Union. The German occupants, who, under the flag of a "superior race," want not only to oppress their own people but also to enslave other peoples, bring to the occupied Soviet districts not only forced labor, devastation and famine, but also outrage

of human dignity and national sentiments.

The German Army invaded our territory in order to destroy the free life and culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to Germanize and enslave these peoples. For this very reason the peoples of the Soviet Union rallied into an inflexible and impregnable force against the hateful German Army of oppressors. There is no limit to the popular wrath and indignation called forth from the whole Soviet population and the Red Army by the innumerable instances of base violence, abominable outrage of the honor of women, and mass murder of Soviet men and women committed by the German fascist officers and soldiers.

Wherever the German bayonet begins its rule, it institutes an unbearable regime of bloody terrorism, excruciating tortures and brutal murders. The pillaging in which German officers and soldiers everywhere engage is accompanied by beatings and murders of a tremendous number of absolutely innocent people. For failure to comply with a demand to surrender all food down to the last grain or to surrender all clothing down to the last shirt, the occupants torture and hang old and young, women and children. During forced labor, they beat and shoot people who fail to accomplish the work quotas which the Germans have established.

On June 30 the Hitlerite bandits entered Lvov, and on the very next day arranged a massacre under the slogan: "Kill the Jews and Poles." Having murdered hundreds of people, the Hitlerite bandits staged an "exhibition" of those killed in the passageway of a building. The first place at this horrifying "exhibition" was occupied by the body of a woman whose baby was nailed to her with a bayonet. Such were the monstrous brutalities of the Hitlerites at the very beginning of the war.

Wading through streams of blood, the Hitlerite scoundrels continue their vile crimes. On December 2, in the village of Krasnaia Polyana, near Moscow, the German fascist scoundrels gathered all the working population from 15 to 60 years old and locked them in the building of the district executive committee, unheated and with broken windows, and kept them without bread or water for eight days. Women workers Zaitseva, Gudkina, Naletkina and Mikhailova, of the Krasnaia Polyana factory, who were subjected to this torture, saw their babies die in their arms.

Cases are not infrequent of Hitlerites using Soviet children as targets for shooting practice. In the village of Bely Rast, in the Krasnaia Polyana District, a group of drunken German soldiers put the 12-year-old boy Volodya Tkachev on the porch of a house as a target and opened fire with automatic rifles. The boy's whole body was riddled with bullets. After that the bandits opened disorderly fire at the windows of houses. They halted collective farmer Mossolova, who was passing down the street with her three children, and shot her on the spot, together with the children.

In the village of Voskresenkoye, in the Dubinin District, the Hitlerites used a three-year-old boy as

a target for machine-gun practice. In the district center of Volovo, in the Kursk Region, where the Germans stayed four hours, a German officer dashed the head of the two-year-old son of a woman named Boikova against a wall and killed him because he was crying. In the Zhlobino rural Soviet, in the Orel Region, the fascists killed the two-year-old child of collective farmer Kratov because its crying disturbed their sleep.

In the village of Semenovka, in the Kalinin Region, the Germans raped 25-year-old Tikhonova, wife of a Red Army man and mother of three children, who was in the last stage of pregnancy. They tied her hands with a piece of string. After raping her the Germans cut her throat, stabbed both her breasts, and drilled them in a sadistic manner. In the same village the occupants shot a 13-year-old boy and carved a five-cornered star on his forehead.

In November, telegraph operator Ivanova went with her 13-year-old son Leonid to visit relatives in the village of Burashovo, near Kalinin. As they left the town they were noticed by Hitlerites, who opened fire at them from a distance of 60 yards and killed the boy. The mother made several attempts to lift and carry away her boy's body, but at each attempt the Germans fired at her, and she was forced to abandon the body. For eight days the German soldiers did not allow her to remove the body. It was taken away and buried by Ivanova only after this locality was occupied by our troops.

In Rostov-on-Don, Vitya Cherevichny, 15-year-old pupil of a vocational school, was playing in a courtyard with his pigeons. German soldiers passing by began to take away the pigeons. The boy protested. The Germans took him out and shot him at the corner of 28th Avenue and First of May Street because he did not give them the pigeons. The Hitlerites stamped on the boy's face with their boots and deformed it beyond recognition.

The village of Basmanovo, of the Glinka District of the Smolensk Region, liberated by our troops early in September, was only a heap of ashes after the German occupation. On the first day, the fascist fiends chased into a field over 200 schoolboys and girls who had come to the village to take part in the harvesting and there surrounded and brutally shot them. They carried away a large group of schoolgirls to the rear for the "gentleman officers."

German occupation of a town or village usually begins with the erection of a gallows, on which the German hangmen execute the first peaceful residents they can lay hands on. They let the gallows with the hanging bodies stand for many days, even for several weeks. They also leave untouched for many days the bodies of those whom they shoot in the streets of towns and villages. After the capture of Kharkov the Germans hanged several persons in the windows of a large house in the center of the city. Also in Kharkov, on November 16, the fascists hanged 19 persons, including one woman, on the balconies of several houses.

In Cherepets, rural soviet of the

Velikie Luki District of the Kalinin Region, the occupants shot and burned several large peasant families. In the town of Tikhvin, in the Leningrad Region, the body of Army Surgeon, 1st Rank, Ryazantsev was found in a house. His nose had been cut off, his arms dislocated, his head scalped and there were several bayonet wounds in his neck. In the village of Voronki, in the Ukraine, the Germans placed 40 captured and wounded Red Army men and nurses in a former hospital. They took away from the medical personnel all dressing materials, medicines, food and other property. The nurses were raped and shot. The Germans placed guards near the wounded and for four days allowed no one to approach them. Some of the wounded died and the rest were later thrown in the river. The local population was forbidden to remove the bodies.

No German is held responsible for the murder of a Soviet citizen, however senseless it may be. On the contrary, murders are encouraged by the German authorities.

Base outrage of women and girls occurs everywhere in the occupied districts. In the Ukrainian village of Borodayevka, in the Dniepropetrovsk Region, the fascists raped all women and girls without exception. In the village of Berezovka, in the Smolensk Region, drunken German soldiers raped and carried away all women and girls aged 16 to 30. In Smolensk the German Command opened a brothel for officers in a hotel, to which they drove hundreds of girls and women. These women were mercilessly dragged over the pavement by the hands or hair.

Everywhere the German bandits bestially break into houses, rape women and girls before the eyes of their relatives and children, humiliate those whom they rape, and brutally murder their victims on the spot. In Lvov 32 women workers of a clothing factory were raped and then killed by German storm-troopers. Drunken German soldiers dragged Lvov girls and young women to Kostyushko Park and brutally raped them. When an old priest named Romaznev, holding a cross in his hands, tried to prevent the rape of girls, the fascists beat him, tore off his cassock, burned his beard and bayoneted him to death.

Near the town of Borisov, in Byelorussia, 75 women and girls who fled before the troops fell into Hitlerite hands. The Germans raped and brutally murdered 36 women and girls. On orders of a German artillery officer, the soldiers took 16-year-old Melchukova into the forest and raped her. Later, other women also taken into the forest saw the dying Melchukova nailed with bayonets to boards propped against a tree. In the presence of these other women, Alferenko and Bereznickova, the Germans cut off her breasts.

During their retreat from the village of Borovski, in the Zvenigorod District of the Moscow Region, the fascists forcibly carried away several women, separating them from their small children despite their entreaties and protests. In Tikhvin, in the Leningrad Region, 15-year-old Kolodetskaya, wounded by a shell splinter, was taken to a hos-

pital in a former monastery where wounded German soldiers were staying. Despite her wound, Kolodetskaya was raped by a group of German soldiers, which caused her death.

Reports of abominable outrages committed against women and girls, schoolgirls and children during the days of the occupation arrive daily from villages and towns recently liberated from the German invaders, in particular from various districts of the Moscow, Leningrad, Kalinin, Tula, Orel, Kursk, Voroshilovgrad, Stalino and Rostov Regions. In many cases the ravishers also murdered their victims.

The Hitlerites did not confine themselves to murders of individual Soviet citizens. Outstanding in the history of fiendish Hitlerite cruelty, ravages and terrorism in occupied Soviet territory were mass murders of Soviet citizens, which as a rule accompanied temporary occupation of towns and villages and other populated places. Here are several examples of wholesale, bloody massacres of whole populations of villages perpetrated by the German occupants:

In the village of Yaskino, in the Smolensk Region, the Hitlerites shot all old men and adolescents and burned the houses to the ground. In the village of Pochinok, in the same region, the Germans herded all old men, women and children into the house of the collective farm board, locked the door, and burned them all. In the Ukrainian village of Emelchino, in the Zhitomir Region, the Germans locked 68 persons in a small house and boarded up the windows. As a result, all of them suffocated.

In the village of Ershovo, in the Zvenigorod District of the Moscow Region, now liberated by our troops, the Germans, while evacuating the village, herded about 200 peaceful residents and wounded Red Army men into the church, locked them in, and blew up the church. On November 16 in the village of Agrafenovka, in the Rostov Region, the fascists arrested all men aged 16-70 and shot every third man.

A horrible massacre and pogrom were perpetrated by the German invaders in the Ukrainian capital, Kiev. Within a few days the German bandits killed and tortured to death 52,000 men, women, old folk and children, dealing mercilessly with all Ukrainians, Russians and Jews who in any way displayed their fidelity to the Soviet Government. Soviet citizens who escaped from Kiev give an agonizing account of one of these mass executions:

A large number of Jews, including women and children of all ages, was gathered in the Jewish cemetery of Kiev. Before they were shot, all were stripped naked and beaten. The first persons selected for shooting were forced to lie face down at the bottom of a ditch and were shot with automatic rifles. Then the Germans threw a little earth over them. The next group of people awaiting execution was forced to lie on top of them, and shot, and so on.

Many mass murders were also committed by the German occupants in other Ukrainian towns. These bloody executions were especially directed against unarmed and de-

fenseless Jewish working people. According to incomplete figures, no less than 6,000 persons were shot in Lvov, over 8,000 in Odessa, over 8,500 killed or hanged in Kamenets-Podolsk, over 10,500 persons shot down with machine-guns in Dniepropetrovsk, and over 3,000 local residents shot in Mariupol, including many old men, women and children, all of whom were robbed and stripped naked before execution. According to preliminary figures, about 7,000 persons were killed by the German fascist bandits in Kerch.

The Nazi blood lust at Rostov gained wide notoriety. Having established themselves in Rostov for ten days, the Germans murdered not only individuals and families, but in their bloody zeal annihilated scores and hundreds of residents, especially in the workers' districts of the city. Near the building of the railway administration, in broad daylight, the Germans shot down 48 persons with automatic rifles. On the sidewalk of a central street of Rostov, the Hitlerite murderers shot 60 persons. In the Armenian cemetery they killed 200 persons. Even after they were driven from Rostov by our troops, the German generals and officers publicly boasted that they would return for the specific purpose of taking a bloody revenge on Rostov civilians who had actively helped to oust their sworn enemies from their native city.

In addition to all the above, the Soviet Government possesses documentary material concerning a frequently repeated, fiendish crime of the German fascist command—the use of peaceful Soviet citizens as a shield for German troops fighting the Red Army.

On August 28, 1941, while crossing the River Kaput, German fascist troops, unable to overcome the staunch resistance of the Red Army, gathered the population of the Byelorussian town of Dobruzh, in the Gomel Region, and, under pain of execution, drove women, children and old men in front of them while they deployed their forces for an attack. The same base crime against the civilian population was repeated by the German Command near the Vybory state farm, in the Leningrad Region, and in the Yelnya District of the Smolensk Region.

The fascist blackguards have again resorted to this bestial and cowardly stratagem in recent days. On December 8 the Hitlerites covered their retreat from the village of Vamnoye, in the Tula Region, with the local population. On December 12, in the same district, they gathered 120 old men and children and sent them ahead of their troops during fighting against advancing Red Army units.

When our troops fought to liberate the town of Kalinin, units of the 303rd Regiment of the 162nd German Division, in an attempt to launch a counter-attack, gathered the women of a suburban village, placed them to the fore, and went into action. Fortunately, the Soviet troops succeeded in beating off this attack, drove a wedge between the Hitlerites and their victims, and saved the women.

There is no limit to the cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the German

fascist army which has broken into our territory. The Hitlerite army wages not an ordinary war, but a bandit war to exterminate the peace-loving peoples standing in the way of the German fascist criminals' aspiration for domination over other peoples and over the whole world. The Hitlerite Government of Germany, which treacherously attacked the Soviet Union, ignores all provisions of international law in making war, and all requirements of human morality. It wages war, in the first place, against the peaceful, unarmed population — women, children and old folk — thus revealing its wild, bandit nature. This bandit government, which recognizes only force and banditry, must be broken by the all-crushing strength of the freedom-loving peoples, in the ranks of which the Soviet peoples will fulfill to the end their great task of liberation.

Not only the Red Army, but the whole of our multi-millioned people is filled with burning hatred and craves merciless revenge for the blood and shattered lives of Soviet citizens. The Soviet people will never forget the brutalities, violence, devastation and humiliation which the bestial bands of the German invaders inflicted and continue to inflict on the peaceful population of our country. They will not forget and pardon.

Informing all governments with which the U.S.S.R. maintains diplomatic relations of all these brutalities perpetrated by the German invaders, the Soviet Government declares that it places the whole responsibility for these inhuman, bandit actions of the German troops upon the criminal Hitlerite Government of Germany. At the same time, the Government of the U.S.S.R. declares with unshakable confidence that the struggle of the Soviet nation for liberation is a struggle not only for the rights and liberty of the peoples of the Soviet Union, but for the rights and liberty of all freedom-loving peoples of the world, and that this war can end only in utter defeat of Hitler's troops and complete victory over Hitlerite tyranny.

Signed: MOLOTOV.

Moscow, January 6, 1942.

THE STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET UNION

BY F. LEOPOLD

TWENTY years ago the well-known American labor leader, Bill Haywood, came to Lenin and offered the help of American workers in developing Siberia. Lenin personally supervised the drawing up of statutes for these American settlers. Even before Haywood's visit, during the grim days of the civil war, when the young Soviet Republic was fighting for its very existence, Lenin worked on the problem of rational distribution of industry in relation to the sources of raw material and the proper organization of the entire production process.

In 1922 Bill Haywood visited Kuznetsk and later contributed to the development of the first coal mine in the Kuznetsk District. Big Bill was one of the American pioneers who helped in this great project undertaken by the Soviet people but who at that time hardly visualized its importance and magnitude.

Haywood died in 1928 and his ashes were deposited partly in the Kremlin Wall and the remainder sent to America. This was a symbol of the indestructible bonds between the American and Soviet people which found expression in the work of this pioneer.

On the spot where Haywood found the small village of Kuznetsk some twenty years ago there stands today the large city of Stalinsk, which grew up together with the development of the Kuznetsk Basin industries.

When Hitler came to power in Germany, Stalinsk was laying its first street-car line, and today it is a city of 200,000 inhabitants. Here, in the midst of the steppe, several cities, which before had a population of some 20,000, have developed into important industrial centers. Among them is Kemerovo with 133,000 inhabitants, and Prokopievsk with 107,000.

The Kuzbas possesses some of the largest coal deposits in the world. The output has climbed from 3,000,000 tons in 1929 to 17,000,000 tons in 1938, and 93 per cent of all mining operations are mechanized. Local coal is extensively used by the Kuznetsk steel mills and other industries. Hitherto, the Kuznetsk steel industry was dependent on far-off Georgia and the Ukraine for its supplies of manganese.

Since Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R., Kuznetsk has transferred from transported manganese to local supplies mined in nearby Masulsk.

But Kuznetsk can now dispense

with 80 per cent of its Ural ore, since ore mining began in Gornaya Shorija and Tashtagolsk in Siberia. Both these important fields will be producing to full capacity in the near future. They will also provide Kuznetsk with large quantities of fireproof clay and will make 1,000-mile haulages unnecessary.

Together with the huge Magnitogorsk steel mills, Kuznetsk forms today the main basis of the Soviet Union's war industry. Back in 1927 and '28, the Urals were producing less than 1,000,000 tons of steel, in 1937 the output was 3,500,000 tons and it has been mounting ever since. Today, the Ural output is far in excess of the aggregate Russian prewar output. Compared with 1913, the Urals' industries have increased tenfold. This has been accompanied by a simultaneous growth of cities such as is unparalleled even by the busiest days of American industrial growth.

In 1926 the site where Magnitogorsk stands today was an endless steppe. At present Magnitogorsk has a population of over 150,000. Sverdlovsk trebled its population between 1926 and 1939, and Chelyabinsk increased its population fivefold, from 60,000 in 1926 to approximately 300,000 in 1940.

Cities like Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk and Tagil have today become industrial centers of world importance. The Chelyabinsk Tractor Works, which receive steel from all parts of Siberia, rank among the largest in the world. The Sverdlovsk Engineering Works is of particular importance for the manufacture of artillery, and works almost exclusively on Ural metal. The Giant Carriage Works in Tagil compare favorably with such huge American plants as Pullman. This industrial giant situated in the remote taiga district has a daily output capacity of 100 cars complete with automatic loading appliances.

The Ural power plants are fed from local fuel resources. However, the Urals' growing industries will require more coal than the region produces, and this deficiency will be met by the newly constructed Kartaly-Akmolinsk Railway, which connects Magnitogorsk and other Ural industries with the rich anthracite regions of Karaganda and Kazakhstan. Between the Urals and the Volga lies a vast area populated by the Bashkirians, Tatars, Chuvashi and other nationalities oppressed under tsardom. This erstwhile backward agrarian district is today known as the "second Baku" and supplies the whole of the Ural industry with oil. This makes it possible to dispense with the costly oil shipments from Azerbaijan.

The oil fields at Ishimbayevo, Bashkiria, which began production with 4,600 tons in 1932, yielded well over 1,000,000 tons in 1938. By 1942 the aggregate oil output for the entire district will be 7,500,000 tons, or equal to over one-half of Germany's requirements.

It should be borne in mind at the same time that the Soviet Union with its rich Caucasian oil fields has an annual output of 38,000,000,-40,000,000 tons (1941), and is second only to the United States as an oil-producing country.

Many still think of the Volga

District merely as a romantic land with Volga boatmen toiling away to the tune of melancholy songs amidst the barren steppe. This, however, is a thing of the past, and the arid steppe has been converted into a fertile field. The ancient man-hauled boats have given place to modern steamers carrying oil and oil products, coal, ore and grain to new industrial districts and taking away manufactured goods. No less than 100 new large industrial establishments have been put into operation here in recent years. Among them is the Stalingrad Tractor Plant, the Saratov Harvester Combine Works, plants producing automobile and tractor equipment, machines, ball bearings, etc.

Similar industrial activity has been taking place in the Central Asiatic republics. These former agrarian colonies of tsardom today have become an important arsenal for the Soviet Union's fighting forces. Uzbekistan alone accounts for 60 per cent of all cotton grown in the U.S.S.R. With its rich Karaganda coalfields, Kazakhstan ranks third in coal production, and its oil fields at Emba bid fair to become one of the country's most important oil producing centers.

Nor are Kazakhstan's riches limited to coal and oil; the republic is one of the major cattle raising districts in the Soviet Union. Kirghizia is another rich coal producing country where industrial expansion has been extraordinarily rapid. Compared with prewar days, the industrial activity has increased 142-fold and in Tajikistan the growth has been even more astounding, 187-fold in the same period.

These numerous industrial bases in the east and southeast of the country have been substantially fortified by the evacuation of hundreds of other factories and millions and millions of workers from the western districts. The most important factories have been evacuated from all districts occupied by the Germans or threatened by them. They were transferred together with the entire personnel of skilled w rkers, engineers and research staffs. Today they are established in new locations, thousands of miles from the front lines.

The scale of this eastward migration of industry may be judged from the fact that from 50 to 60 per cent of the entire population was evacuated from Kiev, which has 846,000 inhabitants, and Kharkov, which has 833,000. From these two cities alone between 840,000 and 1,000,000 persons, making up practically the whole industrial population, were evacuated in good time.

The evacuation of industry proceeded according to definite plans and to new sites in close proximity to raw material resources. At the same time hundreds of thousands of workers were brought into mining and oil extraction, and supplies of raw materials were made available as soon as the evacuated plants resumed operation.

Day after day the Soviet press carries reports of remarkable successes scored in these districts. Whole working brigades in this "second Baku" fulfilled production

quotas 200, 300 and even 400 per cent and the situation is very much the same in the Karaganda, Siberian manganese mines, etc. The loss of time entailed in evacuation was made up for and Hitler was rather premature in boasting that his armies have conquered the greater part of the Soviet Union's war industries.

For several months these new industries in the east and the south-east have been increasing production thanks to the evacuation of factories from the west. The extension and new construction that took eight months and even a year in peace-time are now completed in a few months or in fact in one month. One evacuated factory, for instance, began assembling machinery late in August and was already producing in early October. The Dniepropetrovsk industries evacuated to the Urals are successfully overfulfilling production schedules. The Petrovski and Dzerzhinsky plants, formerly of Dniepropetrovsk, were evacuated with all their stocks of raw materials and machinery, and are now working at full speed.

The Voroshilov Plant evacuated from Dniepropetrovsk and arrived in the Urals in mid September; on October 10 it resumed output.

All factories brought with them skilled personnel and were able to cope with all difficulties that arose in connection with evacuation. No small part was played by the Soviet scientists and research workers who helped evacuated plants organize prospecting for raw materials, etc.

In the Urals, for example, the special commission set up for mobilization of local resources includes several academicians and prominent scientists. The Urals and the Kuzbas were formerly the Soviet Union's second arsenal. Today, with the addition of new factories and new personnel, they have become the mightiest industrial center in the country, an arsenal of gigantic dimensions, producing arms in ever-increasing tempo to destroy Hitler's gangs.

Nor is it accidental that the Soviet industrial development has been able to cope with this new situation. We know how Lenin worked on the problems of proper distribution of Soviet industries. Lenin's plans did not remain on paper, but were developed further and put into operation by Stalin. It was on Stalin's initiative that during the years of reconstruction so many new factories were set up in the Eastern Republics and Central Asia. It was under his leadership that three Five-Year Plans were successfully carried out. In the course of these years Soviet industrial geography changed and a new distribution of industry and agriculture took place.

Speaking at the 16th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1930, Stalin pointed to the need of developing a second coal and steel base in the Urals and Kuzbas that would serve as a foundation for large industries planned in the eastern regions. Stalin repeatedly pointed to the need for such proper industrial distribution in order to enhance the country's defenses. Under Stalin's supervision in these last ten years there was systematic construction

of large steel mills, motor and tractor plants, car works, aircraft plants, factories manufacturing synthetic rubber, aluminum and other products as well as reorganization of transport, and opening up of new agricultural districts in the Volga, Siberia and Central Asia.

This was accomplished by an unremitting effort to harness the forces of nature and convert a desert land into a fertile area. The growth of the Soviet Union's war potential was determined by the following fundamental factors:

1. The successful operation of the Five-Year Plans based on scientific research brought the Soviet Union to first place in the world in respect to deposits in iron ore and particularly special ores for high quality of steel, oil, peat, apatite, calcium and many other raw materials. In coal deposits the U.S.S.R. is second only to the United States. The greatest number of these deposits are situated in the eastern and southeastern sections of the country, in the Urals, Siberia, Kazakhstan and other Central Asiatic Republics.

2. Hundreds of modern industrial establishments were built up around these sources of raw material.

3. By introducing approximately 500,000 tractors and 160,000 mechanized thrashing installations, Soviet agriculture was by 1938 the most highly mechanized in the world.

At the same time, important farming regions were opened up in Central Siberia, in the Volga country and Central Asia. The industrial and transport geography of the country was revised.

4. Side by side with the old industrial centers of Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine and Baku there grew up a second Donetz Basin at Kuznetsk, a second Baku in the area between the Volga and the Urals, and a third coal-producing center at Karaganda.

This required drastic changes in land, water and air communications.

5. Specialization of individual factories and regions was discontinued. Particularly in recent years, the policy has been to foster all-round industrial development and make the best use of local resources.

These and other factors enabled the Soviet Union in the first months of the war, when its western industries were endangered and partly in the hands of the enemy, to shift the center of its war industry to the eastern regions of the country. This move frustrated Hitler's plan to break the Soviet Union's fighting efficiency by occupying certain western industrial regions and thus dooming the country to defeat.

This so-called plan was to be carried out in six weeks. The whole world can plainly see the failure of these plans and very probably Hitler's own deceived people begin to see it too.

THE MEANING OF THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

BY F. DONOVAN

"THE Germans calculated . . . on the instability of the Soviet system, the instability of the Soviet rear, in the belief that the very first serious blow and the first setbacks of the Red Army would give rise to conflicts between workers and peasants, to feuds between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., that this would be followed by uprisings and that the country would fall apart, which would make easier the advance of the German invaders as far as the Urals.

"But here, too, the Germans gravely miscalculated. Far from weakening, the setbacks of the Red Army, on the contrary, strengthened still more the alliance of the workers and peasants as well as the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

"More than that, they transformed the family of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. into a single, inviolable camp which selflessly is supporting its Red Army and Red Navy.

"The Soviet rear was never as strong as today. It is quite credible that with such losses as we have today, any other state would fail to withstand the ordeals and would deteriorate. If the Soviet system was able so easily to withstand the ordeal and still further to strengthen its rear, this means that the Soviet system is now the strongest system."*

These memorable words of Stalin most aptly describe how the Soviet system has successfully withstood the stern test of the war against the combined power of Nazi Germany, fascist Italy and their numerous satellites. It is the unshakable unity of the Soviet people and the invincible strength of the Soviet state which have been proven by this war.

On the Moscow and Leningrad fronts millions of half-starved and ill-clad German soldiers are freezing, and every day thousands of them redden the snowfields with their blood.

In the south of the Soviet Union entire German armies have been annihilated or put to flight. Their return journey is proceeding at a much faster pace than their outward journey. One can safely assume that on the battlefields of Eastern Europe the Nazis are now learning certain "geographical concepts" and climatic facts which certainly are not prescribed in the Nazi textbooks.

* *Stalin Speaks to the World*, Workers Library Publishers, p. 5.

But at the same time the German people are being taught certain political lessons which should bear fruit in time. The most important of these is that the Soviet Union, far from being a mere "geographical concept," is inhabited by a strong, energetic and united people who will fight on till victory is assured. The German people could have saved themselves a great deal of trouble and sorrow if Goebbels had allowed them to read the Soviet Constitution. All that which the people of the Soviet Union are fighting for and which constitutes the source of their gigantic strength and power of resistance is laid down in this truly great document.

The Soviet Constitution is the charter of Soviet democracy, which freed the Soviet people not only from oppression by ruthless and reactionary despotism, but secured their economic freedom by abolishing exploitation, unemployment and want.

It is exactly these evils, and in their very worst form, which Hitler's armies are bringing to the lands which they have overrun. Where under Soviet democracy free farmers are tilling their collectively owned soil, which is theirs under the Soviet Constitution, the Nazis would steal their land and make them sweat for Prussian Junkers.

Whereas the Soviet Constitution guarantees to the workers the right to work, the right to organize in unions and participate in the management of socialist industry through their representatives and factory meetings, the Nazi war lords would turn these factories into slave pens for an "inferior race."

The fearful prospect of Nazi enslavement, in contrast to the hard-won liberties and rights laid down in the Soviet Constitution, is more than enough to inspire every worker and collective farmer in the Soviet Union with an unquenchable hatred of the invaders, and an iron determination to chase them out of the country. That is why the Nazi hopes of sowing discord between the workers and farmers were bound to fail. The Nazi armies are only welding still further the unity of workers and farmers in their common struggle against the rapacious and savage enemy. For similar reasons all Nazi attempts to set one nationality in the Soviet Union against another are only meeting with dismal failure.

Russians and Ukrainians, Jews and the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia remember too well those times when tsarist tyranny, which lacked all roots among the people, was maintaining its rule by oppression and playing off one nationality against another. The Soviet people have not forgotten the enmity between the Russians and Ukrainians, the feuds between different nationalities in the Caucasus, and those horrible pogroms, which all belonged to the reactionary statecraft practiced by the tsarist forerunners of the Nazis. All this and a thousand times worse would return if the Nazis were to set up their robber empire in Eastern Europe.

That is why nationalities of all

tongues in the Soviet Union are united as never before in defense of their equal rights and their brotherhood, which is expressed in the Soviet Constitution.

The women of the Soviet Union, to whom the Soviet Constitution guarantees equal rights, are as determined to defend these together with their socialist fatherland as are the splendid youth who enjoy every opportunity to grow up healthy in mind and body and to study and find a place in life best suited to their talents and inclinations. Never will the women and youth of the Soviet Union bow their heads to a brazen and mad adventurer like Hitler. The new slavery which has turned the German women into pedigree breeding animals with no rest from wars except in an early grave is enough to fill the women and youth of the Soviet Union with boundless energy in this common struggle against the evil threat of Hitlerism.

It is this invincible union of 200,000,000 which constitutes the firm foundation of the Soviet system, of the Soviet state. These 200,000,000 are determined to ward off Nazi slavery at any cost. This explains why the rear of the Red Army is firm and why no Quislings and fifth columnists dare to raise their heads in the Soviet Union. It explains why the workers are straining every muscle to supply their brothers at the front with the needed weapons, why the workers who have been evacuated to the east together with their benches and their tools are overcoming all difficulties in again starting production for the Red Army. Collective farmers are supporting the front and rear by supplying them promptly with grain.

Women have taken the places of men in workshops, offices and public services. In territories temporarily occupied by the Nazis, the workers and farmers, Soviet citizens of all nationalities, carry on a relentless guerrilla struggle against the Hitler hordes, and at the front itself the Red Army and the armed people of the Soviet Union are destroying the legend of German invincibility.

It is a distinguishing feature of the Soviet Constitution that it contains no high-sounding promises and general declarations. The great achievements of the Soviet people which it reflects, the rights which the Soviet Constitution guarantees all its citizens, are indisputable facts. They are an integral part of the everyday life of the Soviet people. That is why the Soviet Constitution, which is a guarantee of these achievements and rights, is also the guarantee of final victory. In the struggle against the bestial doctrines of Hitlerism, the great and human ideals which the Soviet Constitution embodies must and will prevail. It is the duty of all progressive men and women to support the Soviet people in achieving this great and noble aim.

OCCUPIED EUROPE SEETHES WITH REVOLT

BY VICTOR POLAR

THESE last few months have brought fresh outbursts of popular struggle against German fascism in the Nazis' European rear. The popular resistance to alien invasion increased following Nazi Germany's attack on the Soviet Union. Inspired by the heroic struggle of the Soviet people, imbued with hope for quick liberation from the German yoke and with renewed faith in their own forces, the peoples of Yugoslavia, France, Norway, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, Greece and Denmark have taken up the struggle against their German enslavers with greater determination and fresh vigor.

Railway wrecks, destruction of telegraph and telephone lines, sabotage in industry turning out war supplies for the Reich, destruction of war output, assassination of German officers and soldiers—these and similar acts have become everyday occurrences in Nazi-occupied Europe.

Strikes were reported in several countries and primarily in Norway, where preparations were made for a general strike in Oslo. Partisan warfare in Yugoslavia is on the upgrade. This widespread resistance in the occupied countries has caused alarm among the invaders, and the Nazi executioners have decided to take every measure to suppress the popular movement. October and November were marked by a fresh wave of fascist terror and vandalism throughout occupied Europe. German terror was designed to check rapidly the growing resistance of the masses, to disrupt any attempt of popular action and to exact obedience from the population.

In the main the Nazi butchers employed the same methods that they had used in imposing their yoke on the German people. Their chief task was to wipe out the leading core which stood at the head of the popular resistance, banish the active part of the patriotic movement to prisons and concentration camps, and strike fear into the hearts of millions of people by monstrous atrocities and wholesale terror. But this cannibal plan miscarried. Far from whipping people into submission, it served only to evoke greater hatred and more vigorous resistance on the part of the masses in the occupied countries, just as it called forth indignation in Britain, Sweden, in the United

States, Turkey, throughout Latin America and in other countries.

Present-day Yugoslavia is virtually a military camp, with widespread guerrilla warfare being waged against the German and Italian occupation forces in practically every province and region—in the heart of the country around Belgrade, on the Adriatic seaboard, in Montenegro, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia and Herzegovina. This guerrilla struggle has assumed the dimensions of a major war. Scattered bands of guerrillas which began their lone activities soon after Yugoslavia's defeat have now established contact and are operating under a single leadership. They formed an army by appropriating the stocks left over by the old Yugoslav army, or by capturing weapons from the enemy.

The fact that the guerrilla struggle waged by the people of Yugoslavia can register manifest progress is a new and vital feature of the movement in that country. The guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia is developing into a popular patriotic war of the Yugoslav nation against German and Italian fascism.

In recent months guerrillas have ever more frequently taken the initiative in launching determined assaults in several parts of the country. They encircle and attack towns and dislodge the occupation forces. In very many cases German and Italian troops are forced to the defensive.

In a few months the operations of the Yugoslav patriots captured five airfields, which they control to this day. Belgrade, Yugoslavia's capital and seat of the occupation authorities and Nedic's treacherous "government," was at one time encircled by guerrillas, who cut off the vital communications and made it impossible to maintain the city's supply of bread and other products.

No longer are the German and Italian troops masters of the situation in Yugsolavia, as was the case when the country was first occupied. Constantly menaced by attacks and annihilation, they are, in fact, becoming prisoners in the occupied land. The success attained by the guerrilla movement in Yugoslavia may be judged by the fact that some regions have been entirely cleared of occupation forces. By bold attacks partisans have ousted Italians and Germans from Montenegro and are firmly holding their positions there.

Inspired by the success of the Montenegrins, people in other parts of Yugoslavia likewise are driving the alien foe from their land. It is not infrequently that guerrilla bands engage in major encounters with the enemy; in some of these several thousand men were involved on each side. In one battle fought in Central Serbia at the beginning of November, 103 Germans were killed and 200 taken prisoner after sixty hours of continuous fighting.

The newspaper *Noviye Listi* reports a battle in Bosnia in which 4,000 partisans were engaged. At Sabac, guerrillas attacked a barge carrying 400 German soldiers, killed half of them and took the remainder prisoners.

In Kranj, Slovenia, guerrillas attacked a German detachment of 400 and accounted for many German officers and men. More than anything else the Nazis stand in need of a quiet and peaceful rear. To hold the 100,000,000 people of occupied Europe in submission and at the same time wage a war against the Soviet Union is obviously beyond their power. New and unexpected difficulties at the Eastern Front arise at every step and the strength of the Red Army and the Soviet people is constantly increasing.

The people of the occupied countries are very much alive to this weakness of their enemies and understand that the Nazis' cause is doomed. This situation furnishes diverse ways and means for intensifying their struggle. In their blind fury the Nazis resort to reprisal after reprisal. Recently, when cold weather set in, they announced that coal and other fuel would be provided only if the population ceased its resistance. This, however, the population refused to do and the authorities forbade the shipments of fuel.

In retaliation for acts of sabotage by her patriots who had put out of commission several important war plants, the German bandits deprived the population of electric current between 7:30 A.M. and 5:00 P.M., with the result that street cars are not functioning. The Germans also closed all schools.

Reprisals and the brutal massacre of hostages and peaceful inhabitants only caused a greater swing of the patriotic movement and multiplied the destructive activities of the Yugoslav patriots in all parts of the country directed against the invaders. The following are but a few of the acts of sabotage reported: an explosion at the Zagreb Telephone Exchange causing damage amounting to 100,000,000 dinars; railway stations have been destroyed at Kraljevo, Glina, Ljusanic and other points.

A factory manufacturing skiis for the German army was burnt to the ground at Dublin. Guerrilla fighters and patriots operating behind the German lines are throwing the railways into a state of utter disorganization.

A permanent way on the important Triest-Vienna line was destroyed no less than fourteen times.

By disrupting and disorganizing railway transport, the Yugoslav patriots hinder the enemy from rapidly dispatching troops to the centers of the insurrectionary movement, from bringing up supplies and ammunition, and from shipping boots to Germany.

These facts provide some insight into the valiant struggle waged by the sons of the freedom-loving and proud Slav peoples. The Yugoslavs have set an example for other European nations groaning under the yoke of German fascism. Above all, it is an example for other Slav nations—Poles, Czechoslovakians and Bulgarians. Yugoslavia's heroic deeds show that steadfastness and a readiness to make all sacrifices for the liberation of the homeland and political organization bring sure re-

sults in the battle against the German cutthroats. These results will be all the more tangible and the hour of delivery from German fascism will come all the sooner, the more readily the peoples of these countries follow the path taken by Yugoslavia.

In France, where the national liberation movement began to develop rapidly following Germany's attack on the U.S.S.R., the German executioners have in the last few months launched a savage campaign aginst the French patriots. The occupation authorities, helped as they are by the foul traitors of the Laval, Pétain and Darlan gang, were unable to detect the persons responsible for numerous acts of sabotage and diversion directed against the German rule.

Trains are being wrecked and vital military workshops, as indeed whole factories, are being put out of commission; output designated for the German army is damaged, munitions dumps are blown up and more frequently than ever before shots fired by unknown hands bring down German officers and soldiers.

Despite their desperate efforts the Germans have been unable to locate the organizers of these patriotic actions. The French people made it their business to keep them well concealed and surround them with ardent sympathy. Frenchmen everywhere are giving every possible support and protection to these intrepid fighters, who are inflicting such terrible blows on the German misrulers.

Moved to fury by this mounting wave of popular resistance, the Germans wreak their vengeance on numerous hostages who have no connection whatever with the anti-German actions, since many of them have been languishing in prison for a long period. These fiendish reprisals are designed to break the fighting spirit of the French. But the French people reply to these bloodbaths of Hitler's executioners by renewed resistance. In response to an appeal from De Gaulle and other leaders of national unity against the Germans, the people carried out a five-minute strike on October 31. It was a protest against the violence and arbitrary rule of the German bandits. This strike embraced the entire country and was particularly successful in industry. At many of the larger industrial establishments the workers downed their tools and observed a five-minute silence. This sinister silence was enough to throw the German authorities into a fit of frenzy, but they were powerless in the face of this fresh expression of French determination.

In important factories working on German war orders and employing thousands of workers the strike was practically universal. At the huge Gnome and Rhone Works, one of France's largest aircraft motor plants, 90 per cent of the workers were involved in the strike, at the Doisin aircraft plant the response was 100 per cent, 95 per cent at the world-famous Hotchkiss tank and machine-gun plant, 100 per cent at the Boule Works, the Zedel chemical plant, the Bordi Works and in

many other key industrial establishments.

At the Championnet Works a detail of German troops appeared to prevent strike action but every worker downed tools. Work was also stopped at the largest electric power plant supplying Paris. In Bordeaux from 75 to 80 per cent of all factories were involved in the strike. The position was very much the same in the lower Pyrenees and Landa.

In Tours all small and middle-sized factories were brought to a stoppage and in Oise Liancourt, Compiègne, Ribencourt and Montbard factories took part in the strike. True to their fighting traditions the French railway workers took an active part in carrying out the five-minute protest strike. Subjected though they are to endless and harsh repression at the hands of the German authorities and Pétain's hounds, France's railway workers did not bow to the powers that be. On October 31, they demonstrated their indomitable will to fight the invader forces. According to far from complete data, the five-minute strike was successfully carried out by the railway workers on the St. George, La Colombe and other lines. At the Paris Austerlitz Station, electric current was shut off and all traffic stopped for one hour.

Large numbers of office workers joined this strike. Employees of the Concord and Mutual Insurance Companies, Credit Lyonnaise, Boncour Film Studios, Central Ration Card Bureau, Pasteur Hospital and many other leading institutions ceased work and participated in the five-minute silence.

In several places the strike was accompanied by demonstrations of marchers carrying the Tricolor. Everywhere Frenchmen paid homage to their heroes who had fallen at the hands of the fascist executioners. This manifestation of the popular patriotic sentiment and wrath struck fear into the hearts of the German rulers.

On October 31 the French patriots demonstrated their organization and preparedness to continue the struggle at the call of their leaders. October 31 again brought to the surface the burning hatred which every Frenchman harbors for the German enslavers.

In Czechoslovakia the Nazis have for two months been doing their utmost to exterminate the leading exponents of the national liberation movement. It has been a struggle in which every section of the Czechoslovakian population has had its share of victims. Many distinguished statesmen, among them the Mayor of Prague, prominent generals and army officers, valiant champions of the working class and the intelligentsia, have been put to death by Hitler's brutes. The fascist plan was calculated to behead the national liberation movement and thereby to put an end to the sabotage and destructive activities of the Czech patriots, which have greatly diminished the effectiveness of the country's highly developed war industry. But in this the German fascists failed and failed dismally.

Soon after the arrival of Heinrich, the new German protector, and following the massacres he organized, the Czechoslovakian patriots distributed leaflets calling on the people to retaliate by stronger and even more resolute blows on the fascist machine in the rear.

News from Czechoslovakia bears proof that the struggle continues unabated. Wrecks of railway tracks and destruction of rolling stock continue as before. On October 27 two German trains loaded with tanks and ammunition collided on the Brno-Switawy line. Devastating railway catastrophes were recently reported from Holeschowice, Walaska and other towns. Fires destroying railway oil tanks and carloads of war supplies have become common occurrences. Czechoslovakia's railway system, which only recently was known for its high degree of efficiency, is falling into a state of decline and dislocation.

Anti-German destructive activities in the Czech factories continue. At one mill in Wlaschim, an assignment of 20,000,000 cartridges turned out to be unfit for use. At the Prague Mill, manufacturing cartridge ribbons for machine guns, new machines just installed by the Germans were destroyed by fire. At the Selliert and Ballot factories, fire broke out simultaneously in several shops and all production had to be stopped. One of the Bata Mills, a shop manufacturing filters for German gas masks, was destroyed by fire. At Dvur Kralove, fire destroyed the factory manufacturing warm clothing for the German army.

Czechoslovakia celebrated Independence Day on October 26. On the night of October 25 Prague was plastered with leaflets calling the Czech people to action. "Death to Hitler and his hangman Heinrich! Glory to the heroic Russian people! Long live independent Czechoslovakia!" were among the slogans current that day.

On the morning of October 26 the main streets of the Czechoslovakian capital were thronged with people marching to Waclav monument. The Gestapo and police forces were called out against the demonstrations and machine-guns were posted at street corners. In some places Hitler's gangs opened fire on the marchers who, retreating under pressure at one spot, soon gathered in other streets.

At 6 P.M. all traffic in Prague was brought to a standstill for several minutes. In sombre silence Czechoslovakia's capital registered its protest and demonstrated its hatred for the German enslavers and its preparedness to fight them to the end.

The resistance put up by the Czechoslovakian people is of particular importance at this moment for the development of the liberation struggle among other European nations enslaved by fascism. The Germans are doing their utmost to obtain the maximum out of Czechoslovakian industry, which possesses such world famous mills as the Skoda Works. The Czech people are becoming ever more aware of the fact that on their activities and determination will depend much in the outcome of this war. They are

beginning to realize that Czechoslovakia's mission is to deal a staggering blow to Germany's war machine in the rear.

Czechoslovakia's geographical position opens up great potentialities for the development of a patriotic struggle against the German invaders. Its close proximity to Yugoslavia, where the people are so heroically combating the common foe of Slavdom, will undoubtedly serve to enhance the fighting spirit of the Czechs and Slovaks and will impel both nations to concerted effort in the fight against the invader.

Resistance against the German invaders is steadily maintained in Norway, Belgium, Holland and other occupied countries.

It has fallen to the lot of the Norwegian people to live through some of the most tragic ordeals with which this war is replete. Dozens of its finest champions have become victims of the Hitler terror and executions which are still proceeding. But the Norwegian people remain undaunted. They have found ways and means of retaliating in a vigorous fashion against the Nazi reprisals. Oslo was the scene of a devastating fire—the greatest ever recorded in the Norwegian capital —on October 30, when a large number of depots, workshops and garages were razed to the ground. Almost at the same time serious damage was done to an important power plant at Bergen and to German fortifications at Aalesund.

Clashes between Norwegian patriots and German soldiers or Quisling men are becoming quite frequent. Only recently at Mjusen, near Oslo, a train carrying participants in a fascist rally was attacked. Norwegian patriots were also responsible for organizing the escape of a large group of prisoners from one Gestapo jail. Try as they might to locate the organizers of this daring exploit, the Germans have failed to lay hands on them. All over Norway self-sacrificing patriots are distributing leaflets calling on the population to intensify its fight against the German occupation. "Be true unto death and you shall acquire life," is the motto of patriotic Norway. The brave men of Norway who on fishing boats have made their way to England cite numerous facts of how the Norwegian people remain unbroken in their military spirit and how steadfastly they fight for their country's freedom.

In Belgium, as in all other occupied countries, the people's struggle against German oppression continues unremittingly. A large storehouse of textile goods requisitioned by the Germans at the Niessen factory at Verviers was set on fire. One of the sluice gates at the King Albert Canal at Liège was destroyed. In the same town the cable transport line at the Coquerille factory was put out of commission. Many locomotives were damaged at another plant in Liège, the Ugra Merier. At the Solovay Chemical Plant near Nancy, 8,000 gallons of ready products were spoiled and vital machinery was thrown out of gear. Depots containing German requisitioned grain are constantly being set on fire and only recently the Belgian press reported that a

large fire had broken out at the food stores in Borinage. In addition to these acts of sabotage and spoilage of war supplies there have been open attacks on the Germans and the Rexists, the Nazi's Belgian confederates.

On October 1 a bomb exploded in the Rexist headquarters in Brussels, killing the Deputy Chief of Storm Troops and causing much damage.

In Holland—at the beginning of October—big fires broke out at Alemlo, destroying hundreds of thousands of yards of fabric intended for the German army. Large stocks of oil and fodder belonging to the German military were destroyed by fire in Amsterdam. One shop of the Foyenikker Aircraft Mills in Amsterdam was burnt to the ground. Several installations and searchlights which the Germans had very carefully camouflaged from aircraft were destroyed in Swokof, Holland. In the same port a barge loaded with war supplies and weapons for the German troops was sent to the bottom. The German press was compelled to admit that the Dutch people are fiercely hostile to the "new order" which the invaders would impose on them, and that the Dutch refuse to collaborate with the Germans and openly express their hatred for German fascism.

The struggle waged by the peoples of the German-occupied countries serves as striking corroboration of Stalin's definition of German fascism's European rear:

". . . Only the Hitlerite self-adulating fools fail to see that the 'new order' in Europe and the notorious 'basis' of this order constitute a volcano ready to erupt at any moment and bury the German imperialist house of cards."*

The titanic forces of this volcano are already coming to the surface in several places. There are numerous indications that it will produce still greater and more destructive explosions.

By its magnificent struggle against the fascist hordes the heroic Red Army is wearing down the Nazi forces and bearing the brunt of the battles. Fascism, the enemy of all mankind, is rapidly losing its strength under the Red Army's increasingly effective blows. This presents tremendous possibilities for greatly strengthening the liberation struggle of Europe's oppressed peoples. The great example set by the Red Army encourages these peoples to heroic deeds, it urges them to inflict mortal blows on the enemy.

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* *Stalin Speaks to the World,* Workers Library Publishers, p. 12.

THE MOUNTING STRUGGLE OF THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLES

BY V. VLASOV

BEHIND the lines of the fascist army which is bleeding white in the battles on the Eastern Front, a new front of enslaved peoples of Europe is taking shape and strengthening daily. Yugoslavia today is one of the most active sectors in the struggle of the people against the fascist vandals. Hitler has occupied the country but has not vanquished it, for the freedom-loving peoples of Yugoslavia have remained loyal to their past, to their finest traditions. They have been engaged in a bitter struggle against the occupation troops, for a period every single day of which has been marked by fresh battles and new heroic exploits of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

In April, 1941, the whole people rose in arms against the fascist invaders. The struggle was an unequal one and some 270,000 soldiers of the Yugoslav army, not fully demobilized, were taken as German prisoners of war. A considerbale section of the army, however, fought its way to the mountainous districts of Herzegovina, Montenegro and Sandzak, via the mountains of Bosnia and Serbia, taking along with it large quantities of equipment and munitions. These battalions and regiments later formed the backbone of the mighty guerrilla movement which now envelops the whole country.

By dismembering the country, by setting Serbs and Croats against each other, by establishing an "independent" Croatia and Montenegro, and by bringing Italian, Bulgarian, Hungarian and Rumanian troops into the country, the fascist freebooters tried to extinguish the flame of the popular struggle in its initial stage and to demoralize broad sections of the population.

Meeting with failure, the Germans resorted to unrestrained terror, to physical extermination of the insubordinate masses. However, here too they miscalculated. Yugoslavia's people proved to be far more steadfast than Hitler's Gestapo agents expected. Fascist Germany's perfidious attack on the people of the Soviet Union marked a turning point in the struggle of the peoples in fascist-occupied countries and particularly in the struggle of the Yugoslav peoples. Serbs, Montenegrins and Croats have always been linked to the Russians and Ukrainians by strong historical ties and brotherly love. The peoples of Yugoslavia replied to the base attack of the Hitlerite hordes by re-

doubling their struggle with the object of passing over from guerrilla warfare to planned military operations against Germany.

Serbian and Montenegrin guerrillas have scored notable successes during the last few months. Aiming to foil all measures of the fascists and their lackeys, to destroy the manpower of the army of occupation and to prevent the German war machine receiving raw materials and food supplies from Yugoslavia, the guerrillas are sparing no effort to accomplish this task.

There is not a single town or village in Serbia which is not the scene of small clashes and sometimes of major battles involving up to 10,000-15,000 men on both sides. The fascist papers appearing in Belgrade and Zagreb, which as a rule intentionally make no mention of fighting, have been compelled nonetheless to report the guerrilla activities in Obrenovac, Valjevo, Umka, Cuprija, Cacak, Uzice and Prozarevac. The paper *Novo Vreme*, printed in Belgrade, carried a report about fighting in Cacak. During the funeral of one of the fascists killed by guerrillas, rifle and revolver shots were fired on the funeral procession as it was passing a corn field. The paper admits that "matters went so far as heavy cross-firing between guerrillas and the armed guard at the funeral." Thus the fascist bandits in Yugoslavia cannot even bury their dead without armed detachments.

Fierce clashes between guerrilla fighters and the German armies of occupation broke out around the towns of Uzice, Sabac and Moinica where the guerrillas took some 600 German soldiers and thirty officers as prisoners. Uzice, an arsenal center, was occupied by guerrillas. At the beginning of October two German armored trains patrolling sectors of the railroad line threatened by partisans were destroyed. Dozens of plants and mines which the Germans have tried to put into operation to supply their army have been blown up by guerrilla fighters or by the workers themselves as was the case at the "Zmaj" and "Ikarus" aircraft plants in Zemun.

This guerrilla warfare and the elusiveness of the partisans are driving the occupation authorities into a veritable frenzy. Recently guerrilla detachments operating joinly with workers employed at the Bovina mine, where the Germans tried to organize the mining of high-grade coal, blew up the shaft and railroad bridge on the Bogovina-Boljevac sector. Miners living in adjacent villages, together with the peasants, joined a big guerrilla detachment operating in the district.

In the villages of Podgorac and Zlot the homes of the organizers of explosions were burned down by the German occupation authorities; the organizers, however, made their escape. In Montenegro the entire population, both young and old, form one nationwide guerrilla detachment. Tiny Montenegro, whose people treasure their freedom above all else, has practically liberated itself completely from the Italian invaders. What is more, the Italian

troops, in encounters with the Montenegrins, have suffered heavy losses. At the beginning of October the guerrilla fighters of Montenegro and Serbia, operating jointly, occupied Pleavla, where the Italians lost 500 soldiers killed in one day's fighting alone.

The people have restored regular postal and telegraphic communications between various districts and cities. The emancipation struggle in Yugoslavia has its general headquarters which guides the operations of all the guerrilla detachments, including those of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the purpose of coordinating the operations these headquarters have established contact also with guerrilla detachments in Albania and Greece. Members of guerrilla detachments operate in Herzegovina. Its administrative center, Mostar, has time and again been in the hands of the guerrilla fighters.

Cedo Milic, one of the leaders of the "Skol" sports organization, many of whose members have joined the guerrilla fighters, is in command of a big guerrilla detachment. The mountains of Bisina and Velez, and the district between Mostar, Trebinje and Bilece form the center of the guerrilla movement in Herzegovina. As in Serbia and Montenegro, the guerrillas in Herzegovina ruthlessly punish the traitors to the people. Following the example of the Montenegrin patriots who executed seven members of the puppet "adminstrative council" appointed by the Italian occupation authorities, the guerrillas of Herzegovina shot the military commandant of Bilice, Celar, three days after he had been appointed to this post by the fascists.

Guerrilla warfare has spread far and wide in Croatia during the last few months, especially in Bosnia, which is now a part of the vassal Croatian "state."

German and Italian-financed newspapers appearing in Zahrer are compelled almost daily to report clashes with guerrilla fighters. The paper *Novi List*, describing the bloody battles fought in August in the suburbs of Kostajnica, which had been controlled by guerrilla detachments for a long time, recognizes the strength and fighting ability of the guerrillas.

"After a guerrilla uprising," writes the paper, "life in the Kostajnica suburbs became impossible. The army was stationed on the outskirts of the town but nobody dared to venture beyond them for the guerrillas would immediately open fire. Thus passed weary days of waiting and tension until finally Draconian measures were taken against the guerrillas, who had their headquarters in an orthodox village four or five kilometers from town. On the first day of hostilities only the orthodox church was taken. On the following day a real battle was in progress before the dinner hour. Guerrillas set fire to all houses in their retreat. Black clouds of smoke enveloped the entire vicinity and terrific shooting rent the air. . . ."

The newspaper prefers to remain silent on the outcome of the battle, merely emphasizing that a number of the Ustashi, *i.e.*, members of the

pro-Hitlerite organization in Croatia, were taken prisoner by the guerrilla fighters as hostages.

Many German and Italian soldiers and officers found their graves on Croatian soil. The cemetery for German soldiers near Sarajevo is already filled and the German Command is now looking for a new site. The guerrillas will lose no time in seeing to it that the new cemetery also is not left vacant.

Fierce fighting has been in progress these past few months in the district of Srebrenca (Bosnia), where a bitter eight-day battle between the guerrillas and occupation troops took place at the end of August and regarding which a novelist wrote: "In an eight-day battle during which 200 Ustashi were killed, a heavy onslaught of 4,000 guerrillas was beaten off." Actually, however, the number of guerrilla fighters in action in the district reaches some 10,000 men, and the number of killed German and Italian soldiers and Ustashi exceeds 1,000.

Heroically fighting side by side with the Croats and the Serbs are the Slovene people who, too, refuse to submit to the yoke of the German and Italian invaders. The Germans who occupy the districts here have unleashed a particularly vicious reign of terror, but the Slovene patriots are replying with like terror. This is evident from the numerous announcements appearing in the Viennese papers about the death of fascist soldiers "in service in Maribor."

Several big guerrilla detachments operating in the Slovenian mountains are harassing the invaders and their agents.

More than 100 fascists paid with their lives for the execution of twenty-two Slovenian patriots in Cakovec. Sabotage is being carried out successfully in the enterprises of the country and the Slovenians are organizing it in districts formerly part of Italy. All sections of the population are fighting against the fascist usurpers. The whole people, including workers as well as officers of the Yugoslav army, who are successfully commanding the guerrilla detachments today, have risen up in struggle. A large part of the intelligentsia, all orthodox, and a majority of the Catholic clergy, have joined this struggle for a free and independent Yugoslavia. Simple and modest young men and women have become organizers of the popular struggle and leaders of the guerrilla detachments; they are learning the strategy and tactics of guerrilla warfare, and are inflicting enormous losses on the fascist occupation troops. In the occupied towns and villages they are printing and distributing newspapers and leaflets, thus bringing words of truth and new strength to the tortured hearts of the people.

The peasant youth is taking its place in the ranks of the guerrilla detachments and fighting heroically against the Hitlerite bandits, who have drained the country of all its crops and thus doomed the people to starvation. During the last four months the peasant youth have been successful in preventing the

invaders from shipping plundered grain out of the country.

In Han Piesk, a small place on the Bosnia-Serbia frontier where the Germans stored their wheat supplies, peasant youth, under the leadership of Acim Dabic, waited until the granary was fully stocked, after which they cleared it of its supplies and joined the guerrilla detachment.

The women of Yugoslavia, too, are waging a heroic fight, rendering great assistance to the guerrilla detachments particularly in the organization of supply bases and medical aid. Hundreds of women and girls are nurses in the guerrilla detachments and together with their brothers and husbands are wreaking vengeance on the enemy for the outraged national dignity and the violated independence of their country.

In addition to waging an armed struggle against the fascists, the Serb, Croat and Slovene patriots are carrying on an extensive propaganda among the population both through the press and verbally. Several papers are issued by them which give the people a true picture of the situation at the front, of the Red Army's heroic struggle, of the struggle of the peoples of the countries occupied by Hitler. These newspapers carry communiqués of the Soviet Information Bureau and the British High Command.

The guerrilla fighters closely follow the valiant struggle of the Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian partisans, and tell their people of this struggle.

Army radio stations taken into the mountains by units of the Yugoslav army are used by the guerrillas for communications.

In districts and villages controlled by the guerrilla fighters, the elementary schools are functioning, attended by several thousand children who are being educated in the spirit of love for their people and hatred for the fascists. Circles for eliminating illiteracy have been organized in the guerrilla detachments themselves.

The peoples of Yugoslavia are confident that they will regain their freedom with the assistance of the fraternal Russian people and the heroic Red Army and with the joint efforts of the enslaved peoples of Europe. The Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Montenegrins will spare neither their blood nor their lives to reach this goal, under the slogan: "All forces out to combat the invaders!"

PETAIN AND DARLAN HASTEN TO HITLER'S AID

BY GASTON RICHARD

IN FEBRUARY, 1934, the spy Abetz and arch-traitors de Brinon and Laval, who stood at the head of the newly-organized Hitlerite "France-German" Society, ordered De La Rocque, Maurras, de l'Oncle, Chiappe and others of their agents to provoke a coup which would overthrow the Republic and set up a fascist regime in France. They even had a suitable "fuehrer" waiting in the antechamber. He was Marshal Pétain. These conspirators were planning a coup d'état, they were out to destroy all democratic rights and liberties, to smash labor organizations, and in accordance with plans prepared well beforehand to physically exterminate all progressive representatives of the freedom-loving French nation, and to impose Marshal Pétain on the country as an all-powerful dictator.

This fifth-column action began with an attempt to take the Navy Ministry by storm. Admiral Darlan went out to meet the rabid fascist mob and was welcomed with enthusiasm. For this unleashed scum, Darlan became the hero of the day. This episode of Darlan was soon forgotten. But ever since then Petain's name became the standard of the fifth column, which at Berlin's orders persisted in its efforts to set up a fascist regime in France.

In those eventful days of 1934 the working class of Paris and the entire French people dealt a stern rebuff to the fascist conspirators, who were acting on orders of France's bitterest enemy. The plotters were caught red-handed and exposed. But they were neither executed nor imprisoned, and Laval, Pétain, Deat and others even joined the Doumerge Government, which was established after those events.

In October, 1934, a terrorist gang headed by Pavelic, aided by French traitors and acting on orders from Hitler and Mussolini, murdered Bartou, France's Foreign Minister. Bartou was assassinated because he made an earnest effort to free French foreign policy from the menacing influence of direct Nazi agents. Laval, the avowed traitor, became the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the investigation instituted in connection with Bartou's assassination was quietly stopped by Pétain's friend, Admiral Lemery, on orders from Pétain himself.

From October through December, 1934, a list of members of the directorate which would rule France after the coup d'état was freely cir-

culated in certain aristocratic drawing rooms, in editorial offices of a number of newspapers, in fifth-column clubs and even in the lobby of the Chamber of Deputies. Pétain's name stood at the top of the list.

Victory of the Popular Front to a certain extent upset the fifth-column plans, but the conspirators did not discontinue their subversive activities. In the autumn and winter of 1937 the Cagoulards were engaged in extensive preparations for an armed coup d'état. Arms were provided by Hitler and Mussolini, and such prominent generals as Duseigneur, Michelin and several others served as military instructors.

Pétain was still the No. 1 candidate for the dictatorship if the plot succeeded. The anti-fascist popular front organizations exposed this conspiracy, but the question of Pétain's treachery was hushed up after a stormy cabinet meeting.

For many years France's national defense was in the hands of Pétain and his confederates. The one thing they feared was Hitler Germany's defeat in the coming war.

In May, 1940, at the most crucial moment of France's life-and-death struggle, Pétain and his group took over the High Command of the French Army. They did so, not in order to organize resistance to the enemy, but for the sole purpose of capitulating. At long last Pétain could see his cherished wish materialize; disarmed France was abandoned to looting and humiliation by Hitler's bandits. By Hitler's grace the senile Marshal was proclaimed Viceroy of mutilated France. His entourage included all his old accomplices—Laval, Deat, Doriot, De La Rocque, Marquet and others—all of them Hitler agents, renegades and traitors.

In July, 1940, Pétain proclaimed himself leader of France and solemnly promised to be the "solicitous father of all Frenchmen." Some of the more credulous believed him, but a year later, in July, 1941, horrorstruck at the people's mounting resistance to the forces of occupation, Pétain called for the physical annihilation of all leaders of progressive parties and organizations of the French people. Even then there were people in France who regarded this merely as a threat. But on August 12 Pétain dispelled all doubts; indeed, he surpassed the hangman who took the life of Don Carlos with the words "I'm killing you for your own good." On August 12 Pétain said to the whole of the French people and not only to one individual Frenchman, "I'll liberate you from yourselves."

The monstrous looting and the atrocities perpetrated by Hitler's occupation forces were described by Pétain as the "defense of civilization." On the following day, August 13, in the name of this "defense of civilization," Gestapo bullets brought down scores of Parisians. Since then not a day passes without French patriots being executed. Ever since the Pétain-Hitler meeting at Montoire on October 24, 1940, France's rulers followed their policy of treachery, a policy of collaboration.

The anniversary of this "collaboration" with the occupation forces was observed in a fitting manner: fifty French patriots were executed and 100 of France's finest men were sentenced to death. The Pétain Government has set up special sections in all military and civil tribunals to pass the death sentence on Frenchmen and thus help Hitler to subdue the nation, which is arising to fight for its liberation.

Darlan and Vichy Home Minister Pucheu visit occupied zones to draw up a list of hostages, who are forthwith turned over to the Gestapo. Among the hostages recently put to death was Charles Michels, who represented the people of the 15th Paris District in the French Parliament. The execution of Michels was but an act of sheer vengeance for the campaign he conducted prior to the war against the traitors and saboteurs of national defense, and particularly for his speech in the Chamber on December 9, 1938, when he declared:

"Our largest aircraft plants have been brought to a standstill and thousands of workers locked out. A group of aircraft plants in the Southeast, for instance, employing some 5,000 workers, have ceased operation. In Paris and other districts many of the industries are in a similar position. Lockouts have brought to a standstill factories in Berne, Vitroil, Marseilles and Cannes, not to mention other cities. Altogether, 1,558,000 working hours have been lost—the time it takes to build seventy war planes."

Jean Catelas, workers' Deputy for Amiens, was killed because he, a holder of many bravery medals for service in the last war, remained true to the working class and to his people, and continued his exposure of the capitulators and traitors throughout the war of 1939-40. After France's defeat he devoted himself to a relentless struggle against the Nazi "collaborators."

Naval Officer Etienne Dorves and his seven comrades found death before a firing squad for remaining loyal to their duty and to France.

In Nantes, one of the hostages shot was Marcel Timbaud, Secretary of the great Paris Metal Workers Organization and one of the organizers of the anti-fascist struggle in February, 1934, and Jean Gardette, Municipal Councilor for the 11th Paris District, who took an active part in the anti-fascist movement.

Many Alsace and Breton clergymen have been tortured in Gestapo prisons and put to death. Messieurs Pitard and Agier, two of the most popular barristers in Paris, figure in a long list of Nazi victims. In the North and Pas de Calais Districts, fifty hostages were shot only because they enjoyed the confidence of the miners. This foul murder followed immediately after the visit to the district by Pétain's Minister, Pucheu.

Among the executed were Delequet, a miner and Mayor of the mining town of Aniche; Arthur Brunet, Mayor of another mining village; Denain, Jules Victor Bancelle and Fernand Turban, officials of the miners' union. They were placed before the firing squad only because they were proud to call

themselves Frenchmen and miners.

Pétain and Darlan are arresting French patriots and turning them over to Hitler as hostages on the slightest pretexts. In Dax, for example, many French inhabitants were arrested because the soldiers of the local German garrison mutinied, killed their officers and fled; in Arcachon (Gironde) French citizens were turned over to Hitler as hostages because German soldiers who shot down their officers found refuge in French homes.

Scores of workers have been shot in reprisal for the assassination of that skunk Giton, who had sold himself to the spy Abetz. Hundreds of workers are put to death in the most cowardly way or tortured in prisons. Thousands have been banished to concentration camps, where they are kept under conditions which must inevitably bring on their death.

Gestapo agents, Pétain's and Darlan's police hounds, rummage Paris day and night, systematically searching every house and street, passengers of the subway and peaceful citizens on the streets. This regime of double terror by German occupation forces and Pétain becomes necessary because Pétain's and Darlan's plans, which were based on a Nazi Blitzkrieg victory in the East, have ended in fiasco. It becomes necessary because Pétain and Darlan, always anxious to curry favor with Hitler, stand exposed in the eyes of the people, who now see the treacherous nature of their "collaboration" policy. They stand before the people hated and disgraced, as agents and abettors of the Nazi occupation forces. France is starving. Her stocks of foodstuffs are exhausted. Infant mortality has reached terrifying dimensions, but the Vichy authorities can only "help" with the cynical advice to sleep more because they maintain that sleep helps the hungry youth to husband strength!

With the coming of autumn the position has gone from bad to worse. The Nazis are pumping out of France every morsel of food and dispatching it to their armies now engaged in a robber war in the East.

The *Neue Zuricher Zeitung* wrote on September 2 that French industry is in very difficult straits:

"The problem of supplying industry and agriculture with electric current is being solved more or less satisfactorily from the viewpoint of Germany's war economy. As a rule, the occupation authorities control France's reserves of labor power. This is in addition to 1,500,000 war prisoners who are working in Germany," wrote the paper, pointing out that the state of industry and the position of the working class provide "sufficient economic grounds for dissatisfaction and the tense situation that prevails in France."

Hitler's French rear is particularly unstable, unreliable and menacing. Every Frenchman knows that the Nazi army of occupation does not at the present moment represent such a serious military force as it was before, for Hitler in increasing measure is drawing upon the garrisons in France to make good the colossal losses sustained on the Eastern Front.

Things are coming to a point where intrepidity, courage, organization and initiative can accomplish a great deal. The Frenchmen are beginning to realize with ever greater clarity that the time has come for an active liberation struggle. This fight has already begun and is assuming more of a mass character from day to day. It is becoming more multiform, determined and concerted. All sections of the population are being drawn into it, for the calamities attending Nazi oppression spare no one.

The French metal workers, who by hunger and terror are forced to work for the Germans, are systematically increasing the portion of damaged goods and curtailing the output in industries working on German orders. French miners are systematically sabotaging the fulfillment of German orders. Sabotage of railway repair shops, transport and shipping is becoming an important form of mass resistance in the struggle against the occupation gang.

The national five-minute strike of October 31 revealed France's indomitable unity and unyielding will to uphold her honor, regain her independence, oust the occupation forces and ruthlessly settle accounts with all traitors and cowards.

When recently a worker, Enjolvy, of the 13th Paris District, was executed, workers of all three shifts of his factory went out on strike and his machine was covered with wreaths and flowers arranged to represent the French Tricolor.

Leomine and Marchandier were sentenced to death by a tribunal in Clermont Ferrand. This sentence evoked such indignation among the workers and such threatening protests from the population of the whole district that Michelin, a Cagoulard and rich manufacturer, was constrained to petition for repeal of the sentence and Pétain had no choice but to comply with this request.

The execution of three Paris lawyers evoked not fear and consternation but hatred for the occupation troops among the members of the Paris bar and all honest court officials.

The French people are not intimidated by the reprisals. They are proud of their national heroes who have fallen in the struggle for liberty. The list of victims is growing, more and more graves mark the last resting place of brave Frenchmen. But this only serves to urge the French to fight with even greater resolve, and their struggle is flaring up with a force that inspires fear in the hearts of the Nazis and their agents.

HUNGARIAN IMPERIALISTS AND GERMAN FASCISM

BY MATHIAS RAKOSI

HUNGARY'S ruling circles entered the war against the Soviet Union not without hesitation. Horthy, murderer of workers, and Prime Minister Bardossy, an old fascist agent, could come out in favor of war without a second thought, but for the Hungarian imperialists as a whole it was a hopeless undertaking. They were to bear the entire risk of war with very doubtful prospects of receiving any of the booty.

Rumania and Slovakia, both of which possessed former Hungarian territory, were Hitler allies, their frontier being guaranteed by Nazi Germany against Hungary. The Hungarian bourgeoisie knew from their own experience that there was no relying on Hitler's promise or guarantee. Yet Hungary was promised, as a compensation for her mercenary services, which would in fact transform her into some sort of super vassal of German fascism in the Danube, territory belonging to Hitler's "allies."

The Germans retained Banat, one of Yugoslavia's most fertile regions, which was formerly part of Hungary. At the same time they fostered hopes in Hungary that Banat might be returned as a reward for her participation in the war. The imperialist appetite of the Hungarian ruling circles was a driving force which impelled them toward war. But there was no confidence, and still less of a guarantee, that these appetites would be satisfied. Hence the wavering and hesitation in the Hungarian ruling circles.

The declaration of war against the Soviet Union was made easier by the fact that the reactionary Hungarian circles readily believed Hitler's assurances that the war against the U.S.S.R. would progress just as speedily and end in the same blitz victory as the war with Poland, France, or in the Balkans. Nor did Hitler demand large armed forces. Participation of the Hungarian army, Hitler maintained, would be largely symbolical. Easy victory would bring Hungary her share of glory and war would serve the Hungarian Army as large-scale maneuvers to test its efficiency and perfect its apparatus. In April the Hungarian Army performed something of this nature in Bachka and Baramya, two districts seized from Yugoslavia. This served to whet the Hungarian appetite.

But as it became clear that the Nazi calculations had been upset there developed in Hungary mounting consternation and growing op-

position to the war. Hopes of the German campaign being brought to a speedy and favorable termination were shattered by the Red Army's heroic resistance. The same fate befell the plans of isolating the U.S.S.R. in its combat with Hitler Germany. The Soviet Union's agreement with Britain made a profound impression in Hungary and this impression was not changed by the statement of the American representatives at the Moscow Three-Power Conference.

At the end of August Horthy and Bardossy were summoned to Hitler's headquarters and at the same time it became known that the Chief of the Hungarian General Staff, Heinrich Wert, had resigned. His place was taken by the Chief of Staff of the army operating at the Eastern Front, who was an avowed Hitler follower. This coincidence, Horthy's visit and Wert's resignation, evoked widespread consternation in Hungary. In order to allay this increasing feeling of alarm, the Prime Minister told the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission that Horthy's visit would not imply an increase in the number of Hungarian troops at the Eastern Front but merely an "expedient regrouping within existing forces."

In addition to complications in the military and economic order, Hungary had soon to face complications from another quarter. Hitler Germany—or, as she was officially styled in Hungary, "Hungary's staunch friend and great ally"—was interfering ever more in Hungary's domestic affairs and making ever new demands. Decrees and government rulings implying greater unification with fascist Germany in legislation, administration and culture followed in rapid sequence. These provided for special statutes for Germans in Hungary.

Following Horthy's visit to Hitler's headquarters, a "fuehrer" of German fascists in South Hungary was appointed Prefect General of the Tolna District. Thus executive power and political influence in the area, with an overwhelming German population, were actually placed in the hands of the Nazis. Simultaneously, it became known that similar measures would be applied in the case of Germans residing in Bachka.

The Hungarian population regards this interference in domestic affairs with growing uneasiness. The wide masses of the population never approved the fascist policy of Hungary's ruling clique, this was clear to all; but how deeply the opposition to this policy, which was abandoning the country to the arbitrary actions of the Nazi barbarians and driving it into an abyss, has penetrated into leading bourgeois circles may be seen from measures which Hitler adopted to deprive Hungary of any semblance of independent government.

At the end of September, when dissatisfaction in Hungary had assumed alarming dimensions, it was announced that a conference was held in Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, at which Slovak, Rumanian and Croat representatives discussed ways and means of realizing their territorial claims on Hungary. Anyone who has followed the relations

between these countries and Hitler Germany will have no doubt that this conference could take place only at Berlin's direct orders.

Hungary's present frontiers were fixed by Hitler arbitration and were deliberately demarcated in such a way as to serve the cause of future friction and conflicts. The Bratislava conference showed that Hitler is prepared to provoke conflicts among his "allies" as soon as the Hungarian ruling clique displays any inclination to disobey his orders. The Bratislava conference signifies nothing more or less than the resurrection of the Little Entente so detested by Hungary. The Little Entente was the tool of the French imperialists and was designed to keep Hungary within the bounds of the Trianon Peace Treaty. Today Slovakia, Rumania and Croatia form a ring around Hungary, but this time it is Nazi Germany, Hungary's "friend and great ally," that has built up this hostile encirclement.

This fact certainly could not popularize the Horthy-Bardossy foreign policy, nor foster any "love" for Hitler Germany. But one should not be led to think that dissatisfaction with Hitler Germany exists in Hungary alone. Germany's relations with her "allies," or, to put it bluntly, satellites, represent an intricate system which rests on common predatory claims, on mutual threats and blackmail, on hatred for all and every liberation movement, and dread of just retribution by the masses of people. These "allies" are being blackmailed in turn, and component parts of their territory are in turn held up as promises to neighboring and "allied" countries as compensation for services rendered.

Rumania has made many more sacrifices and supplied Germany with much more cannon fodder and materials than Hungary. But for all that the German looting of the country and the people's hatred for Germany are no less. Rumania's ruling class, too, receives from time to time warnings and reminders that Hitler alone is at liberty to order Rumania about.

For this purpose the Bulgarian Minister, Filoff, visited Budapest in mid-October and was accorded a ceremonial welcome. He had hardly returned to Bulgaria when reports appeared in the press of conferences in Budapest at which joint Hungarian and Bulgarian claims on Rumania were discussed. Here, too, there can be no doubt that Berlin was behind this conference. The fact that Hungarian Prime Minister Bardossy, that dyed-in-the-wool Nazi agent, figures in this conference, is ample proof of this. Rumania had to be frightened so that fresh blackmail could be extorted.

On the other hand, Hungary had to be allowed some semblance of diplomatic counteraction as a reward for her services to Nazi Germany. The sole argument advanced by the Germans in support of their demands on Hungary is a promise to return territories lost by Hungary in consequence of the Trianon Treaty. Germany's diplomatic swindle with these territories shows how dubious this promise is.

National groups inhabiting the

territories annexed by Hungary in the last three years derive fresh hope from this unstable situation. The ruling Hungarian clique, in its efforts to pacify the Slovak minorities, permitted the existence of a legal Slovak Party led by that renegade and well-known Hungarian fascist agent, Dvorak. The population of Transcarpathian Ukraine was promised an extension of their cultural and social rights. Side by side with this there is a ruthless resorting to violence not only against the national minorities but against the Hungarians as well. The feeling of uneasiness and alarm is rapidly growing in the country.

Food stocks are running low and on July 12 the Hungarian government was constrained to demand over the radio and in the press that the population abstain from using bread until the new harvest is gathered in and in the meantime us potatoes and vegetables instead. The industrial workers in the suburbs of Budapest have been placed on rations of 150 grams of bread per day. In Segeda, the second largest city in Hungary, the sale of flour and bread is forbidden altogether. Hungary is a rich agricultural country; yet after the crops were harvested, the situation did not improve, the capital could not be provided with sufficient grain supplies, and bread cards were introduced in the latter part of September.

The sale of fats, sugar and several other items had been restricted previously by the introduction of special cards, etc. There is a shortage of soap, clothing and leather. Every day brings new restrictions, new government decisions and rulings making compulsory the use of *ersatz* materials.

The situation is going from bad to worse as the German fascists extend their control over Hungary's economy. In recent months, the Hitlerites acquired all the oil wells, bauxite mines, the entire river shipping, and in the beginning of October took over a lion's share of the capital in the Hungarian Commercial Bank, one of the largest in the country, with control over nearly one-quarter of all industry and over half of all coal mines.

The export of foodstuffs to Germany as well as the volume of Hungarian-German trade are concealed from the population. The government is trying to cope with the general dissatisfaction by ever intensified terror. Prisons are full, new concentration camps are being opened and every day sees more death sentences passed by the Hungarian Court.

Particularly savage treatment is meted out to saboteurs. But this fierce terror does not achieve its purpose, and in the latter part of October fifty-two arrests for sabotage were made in a single day. After five months of war the Hungarian ruling circles find the situation in the country worsening. The drawn-out war has destroyed the hope of an easy victory and the Hungarian Army is meeting with increasing losses. The acquisitions of the Hungarian imperialists have proved more of a liability than an asset. The Nazis are using the Hun-

garian part of Transylvania and the Hungarian areas bordering on Slovakia as pawns in their barter. Instead of the territorial conquests she had anticipated, Hungary herself is being rapidly converted into Nazi booty and into a colony of German imperialism.

Many more factors, including the time factor, are required so that the unrest of the Hungarian people might develop into an open armed struggle against the German fascists and their Hungarian hirelings, and that the numerous rivulets of blood and sweat which now flow through tormented Hungary, betrayed by its ruling clique, unite into one mighty torrent that will sweep away everything in its path.

And as the heroic Red Army wears down and exterminates the Nazi Hitler band, as the resistance of the peoples oppressed by fascism grows and is inspired by the example of the Soviet Union, and as the forces of the nations threatened by fascist attack are mustered for action, there grows the struggle of the Hungarian people against oppression by Hitler Germany and her Hungarian confederates. This struggle will continue to grow until it reaches the point when Hungary will take the place she rightly deserves in the ranks of the progressive, freedom-loving nations embattled against fascist barbarism.